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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publication

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
- (b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Montreal, Que.

June 1, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT COMMUNITY HEARING

Volume 63

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

JUL -6 1976

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2	Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.	
3	Mr. Ian Waddell, and	for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;
4	Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C. and	
5	Mr. Darryl Carter,	for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited;
6	Mr. Alan Hollingworth and	
7	Mr. John W. Lutes,	for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;
8	Mr. Russell Anthony and	
9	Pro. Alastair Lucas	for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee;
10	Mr. Glen Bell,	for Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories.
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12	Chief Billy DIAMOND	
13	Jean-Marie BEAUBOIS	
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27	Dr. Gordon EDWARDS	
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CANADIAN ARCTIC
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Montreal, Que,

June 1, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Ladies and gentlemen, I'll call the hearing to order this morning. I don't think that an extended opening statement is required on this occasion, and let me just say that we are spending a month taking the Inquiry to the main centres in Canada to consider what you, who live here in Southern Canada, have to say about the proposal to build a Mackenzie Valley Natural Gas Pipeline.

It must be plain enough, I've said it often enough that the proposal to build this gas pipeline is not to be considered in isolation. The Government of Canada, in the Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines tabled in the House of Commons has made it clear that we are to proceed on the assumption that if a gas pipeline is built, then an oil pipeline will follow. That means that we are examining in fact a proposed energy corridor to bring fossil fuels from the Arctic to the mid-continent.

The consequences of such a development so far as the expansion of oil and gas exploration and development activity throughout the Mackenzie Valley, the Mackenzie Delta, and the perimeter of the Beaufort Sea have been recited to this Inquiry on numerous occasions. They're worth bearing in mind because the proposed gas pipeline, though it would be the greatest project in Canada's history in terms of capital expenditure, is simply the first step in the

development of an energy corridor. The mandate of this Inquiry is to consider a social, economic and environmental impact of such a corridor.

That is a subject that concerns all Canadians, and I think that it is a fair reflection of the concern of all Canadians that this Inquiry in fact received a multitude of requests from people all over Canada seeking an opportunity to be heard, and that is why we -- that is why after 14 months in Northern Canada, we are taking a month out to consider the views of you who live here in the south.

1 Nous nous croyons un peuple
2 nordique. Alors, l'avenir du Nord devrait nous concer
3 ner.

4 En fait, c'est notre appétit
5 pour le pétrole et le gaz ainsi que notre façon de
6 consommer nos ressources naturelles qui ont occasion-
7 né les demandes d'extraction du gaz et du pétrole dans
8 l'Arctique.
9

10 A mon avis, ce qui va se
11 dérouler dans le Nord est d'une importance primordia-
12 le et nous en serons responsables tous et chacun.

13 C'est pourquoi nous sommes
14 ici, pour vous écouter.
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1 MR. ROLAND: Just a few
2 words about our manner of procedure. Counsel for the
3 two applicants and the participants have agreed that
4 there will be no cross-examination of those making
5 submissions unless it is specifically requested. In
6 place of cross-examination, counsel for each of the
7 applicants and each of the participants will be
8 allowed at the conclusion of this morning's session
9 to make a statement not exceeding ten minutes about
10 the submissions that have been heard.

11 You will notice that persons
12 making submissions are asked to give their oath or
13 to affirm. This is a practice that the Inquiry has
14 followed not only in the formal hearings in Yellow-
15 knife, but at community hearings in each of the
16 28 communities in the Mackenzie Valley and Delta.
17 The purpose of the oath or affirmation is recognition
18 of the importance of the work in which the Inquiry
19 is engaged.

20 Je veux ajouter qu'il a des
21 recepteurs d'interpretation a l'entree pour ceux qui
22 en ont besoin.

23 There are receivers at the
24 door for those who wish the assistance of the simul-
25 taneous translation facilities provided.
26
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7 I'd ask Mr. Waddell to
8 call our first witness this morning, sir.

9 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
10 I should say that we have a number of briefs for this
11 morning, and I propose to call the following, I think
12 before coffee. Two briefs from last night, sir, Dr.
13 Jean Morissette and Ernest Schiblie of the Social
14 Justice Committee of Canada. Then we'll call Gilles
15 Barbeau from Gas Metropolitan. Then Vivian and John
16 Geeza; the brief from Domtar, and if we have time
17 before coffee, from Professor Mountjoy of McGill.
18 Then we'll have some briefs after coffee, sir.

19 I would ask any of the
20 people that are going to give briefs, if you haven't
21 already done so, if you could give me a copy of your
22 brief so that we can have it printed up for the
23 other lawyers and for the press.

24 I'd call then, Judge Berger,
25 our first brief for this morning, Dr. Jean Morissette.
26
27
28
29
30

1 JEAN MORRISSETTE, assermenté:

2 Nous voilà ravis, monsieur le
3 Juge et monsieur le Commissaire, de vous savoir
4 rendus jusqu'à Ville-Marie, pour vous enquérir des
5 conséquences de la conséquence de la construction d'un
6 pipeline dans la vallée du fleuve Mackenzie.
7

8 Ce fleuve est localisé, nous
9 dit-on, au-delà d'une province nommée Alberta, et
10 à des centaines de lieues au nord-ouest de ce que fut
11 le pays de Louis Riel.

12 Mais, peut-être représentez-
13 vous les vieux sachems de cette vallée et de ce fleu-
14 ve boréal qu'est le Naotcha, le Mackenzie en Dené,
15 des vieux sachems qui vous auraient dépêchés vers
16 le St-Laurent, pour voir ce que trois siècles
17 d'occupation et de civilisation Moolah ont fait
18 de ce territoire qui a perdu et a anéanti pratique-
19 ment tous ces Dené.
20

21 Vous vous êtes engagé, dites-
22 vous, monsieur le Juge, à considérer l'avenir d'une
23 grande vallée fluviale et de ses ressortissants,
24 nous en déduisons donc que vous êtes peut-être
25 venu dans nos contrées pour une fois, comme vous
26 l'avez dit, le Nord contacte le Sud, constater de visu
27 ce que nous, Moolah, avons fait de notre fleuve et
28 de notre territoire, de nos paysages et de notre
29 atmosphère, de notre terre, de notre eau et de notre
30

J. Morrisette

population aboriginale.

Ainsi à travers des milliers de milles de territoire et plus de trois siècles d'histoire, deux fleuves, le Mackenzie et le Saint-Laurent auraient-ils le loisir de se contempler et de ne pas se reconnaître à travers la pollution qui les séparent.

Ainsi Champlain pourrait-il serrer la main de Mackenzie, n'était-ce que les Algonquins et les Atapaskas qui eussent pu les mettre en contact, se sont faits aculturer "insitou".

L'histoire du Canada est en effet l'histoire d'une constante appropriation territoriale par les européens et d'une longue et constante érosion mentale d'une population autochtone que ces mêmes européens, ici de la judéo-chrétienté, ont aculturée.

Il reste, semble-t-il, aujourd'hui le Nord.

Le Nord auquel on semble se raccrocher de plus en plus dans notre littérature, dans nos déclarations pan-canadiennes et nos "coffee table books".

Il reste aujourd'hui les Inuits et les Denès dont nous exposons les sculptures ou les mocassins dans nos boutiques et un peu partout à travers le monde au hasard des aéroports internatio-

J. Morrisette

1 naux. En fait, nous ne nous privons jamais d'utili-
2 ser à l'étranger nos autochtones et l'art de nos
3 autochtones pour mettre le Canada en relief sur
4 la carte de l'exotisme mondial.

5 Il n'est guère, monsieur le
6 Juge, de bureau pédégiste de grande compagnie ou
7 dans les salons de nos zones affluentes qui n'ait
8 un produit "native" comme décoration.

10 Ainsi l'autochtone, le sauva-
11 ge disparaît-il derrière sa représentation, vive
12 les sculptures esquimaudes, à bas les esquimaux.

13 D'autre part, monsieur le
14 Juge, le Nord serait devenu le miroir de la nation.
15 Quelle nation "indeed"?

17 Mais qu'est-ce donc que ces
18 mythes savamment entretenus?

19 Le Nord, dit-on, fondera la
20 culture pan-canadienne à travers les autochtones.
21 Terminée l'opposition néfaste entre francophones
22 et anglophones, car c'est à travers le Nord qu'ils
23 se réuniront. Finis cette lutte et ces rapports
24 de forces Moolah-Cablouna quand viennent leur union
25 à travers la mort ou la survie de l'indien.

27 Quel rêve vraiment mythique
28 pour cacher les véritables problèmes qui sont les
29 suivants: la montée lente et irrévocable du Sud vers
30 le Nord, dont le pipeline n'est qu'une des manifesta-

J. Morrissette

1 tions, se traduisant surtout par la constitution,
2 trois siècles ou deux siècles et demi après l'Améri-
3 que Latine et les Etats-Unis d'une situation de
4 dominateurs dominés ou de développeurs développés.

5 Ainsi est-on abouti malgré
6 les exemples des autres continents à une situation
7 de complète aphorie et d'ambivalence généralisée.
8

9 Le Nord, monsieur le Juge,
10 n'a jamais été cultivé pour lui-même, sinon pour ce
11 qu'il apporté au Sud, et à fortiori en fut-il ainsi
12 de sa population autochtone.

13 Que se passe-t-il donc mainte-
14 nant dans le Nord?
15

16 Je crois que les "natives"
17 comme vous dites en anglais auront tôt fait de nous
18 informer, s'ils ne l'avaient déjà fait à satiété,
19 sans que nous en prenions conscience, la civilisa-
20 tion des blancs, disent les autochtones nordistes,
21 désavoue maintenant ce qu'elle nous obligeait à
22 renier lorsqu'elle est venue s'imposer à nous.

23 On nous a obligés à aller à
24 l'école des blancs, et maintenant, qu'est-ce qu'on
25 voit?
26

27 Ce sont des blancs "drop out"
28 dans le Sud. On nous a obligés à nous convertir aux
29 religions des blancs et maintenant ces mêmes blancs
30 ont déserté leurs églises.

J. Morrisette

1 Cette civilisation blanche
2 nous a sortis de nos forêts, disent-ils, pour nous
3 amener dans ses villes et voilà qu'elle fait tout
4 ce qu'elle peut pour sortir de ses villes et retour-
5 ner à la tranquillité de nos bois et de nos parcs.

6 En fait, les Denès du Macken-
7 zie se sont donc vu offrir tous les privilèges
8 de la civilisation et de ces premiers porte-parole,
9 l'administration et le Gouvernement, pour ensuite
10 avoir droit à ce qu'on a appelé les maladies
11 infantiles et adultes du développement, maladies qui
12 les ont affectés d'autant plus qu'ils n'étaient pas
13 inoculés contre tous ces germes, mais qui, donc,
14 à vrai dire est responsable de tout cela? Serait-ce
15 la psyché canadienne, serait-ce tous ces canadiens
16 bien intentionnés, humanitaires, altruistes, puri-
17 tains ou chrétiens, mercantiles, missionnaires,
18 écologistes, ingénieurs et anthropologues, qui ont
19 assiégé l'indien de toutes parts.

20 Pour n'avoir pas voulu en
21 prendre conscience, le système imposé aux indiens
22 n'a pas réussi à surmonter ces contradictions. On
23 est forcés d'en déduire que l'organisme canadien
24 comme entité sociale, politique, culturelle et éco-
25 nomique ne peut rien proposer de mieux à ses ressor-
26 tissants autochtones que de la planification par la
27 négative.

J. Morrisette

1 Et on a présenté la plupart
2 des projets comme devant diminuer à l'avance les
3 effets préjugés nocifs.

4 Alors, il s'agit vraiment
5 d'une planification à rebours, on a souvent dit que
6 le Nord du Canada s'était fait sans planification,
7 à cela, moi, je m'inscris tout à fait en faux
8 contre cette idée.
9

10 Il y a eu la planification
11 spontanée de la psyché canadienne standard.

12 Par ailleurs, ce même organis-
13 me canadien opère les divisions suivantes à l'inté-
14 rieur de son appareil, il demande à sa composante
15 dite impartiale, qu'elle soit académique, journalisti-
16 que ou juridique d'évaluer ce que sa composante
17 projet, qu'elle soit publique ou privée, se propose
18 de faire subir à ce qu'il définit comme sa composan-
19 te sujet, en l'occurrence les autochtones.
20

21 Pourquoi tous ces doubles
22 jeux?

23 Parce que la bonne conscience
24 canadienne cherche à régulariser son comportement
25 vis-à-vis ses autochtones, parce qu'elle craint de
26 se surprendre à bafouer sur un plan national les
27 valeurs qu'elle prône et défend sur un plan interna-
28 tional.
29

30 Ces doubles jeux sont à vrai

J. Morrisette

1 dire la conséquence logique d'une contradiction
2 inhérente aux principes démocratiques sur lesquels
3 se fondent la société canadienne.

4 On attribue en effet une égali-
5 té "de jure" aux blancs et aux indiens, alors que de
6 facto les deux groupes se perçoivent comme diffé-
7 rents et même comme opposés, en conséquence, on essaie
8 de niveler le tout au nom de l'échelle démocratique,
9 égalitaire et paritaire, alors ce sont les indiens
10 qu'on attaque pour les mettre au diapason d'un ensemble
11 qu'on a faussement défini au départ comme devant les
12 inclure, comme dans tout processus d'intégration,
13 les jeux se font à sens unique. C'est à l'indien
14 qu'on impose du Canada, la réciprocité étant bien
15 sûr irrecevable.

16
17
18 Ce sont ces contradictions,
19 je crois, qui illustrent les Dénis du Mackenzie,
20 parce que la psyché canadienne se refuse à les
21 considérer pour ce qu'ils sont.

22 A fortiori est-elle incapa-
23 ble de faire place à une déviation de la moyenne
24 standard de la société canadienne.

25
26 La résultante de tout ça,
27 c'est que le Canada nationalise les indiens,
28 c'est-à-dire en fait ses indiens par le biais de
29 l'intégration.

30 Pour reprendre brièvement les

J. Morrisette

propos que des Moolahs euro- canadiens, qui auront
 vécu avec les autochtones l'espace de leur vie,
 pour reprendre les propos qu'ils nous ont tenus,
 voici le message qu'ils nous transmettaient:

" Les blancs accusent les
 indiens d'être là, d'être dans
 leurs jambes, les blancs ne
 peuvent admettre qu'ils sont
 en territoire indien, que ce
 n'est pas leur pays, alors ils
 se disent qu'ils ont tous les
 droits, les indiens sont
 coupables d'être là, qu'ils
 comprennent donc et qu'ils
 s'intègrent au système, qu'ils
 travaillent et qu'ils arrêtent
 de boire."

Nous nous sommes en fait im-
 plantés irrévocablement, nous imposant tout en essayant
 de faire des belles façons aux indiens, et le seul
 moyen de défense pour ces Denès, c'est de jouer le
 blanc, c'est de jouer au blanc et de jouer le jeu
 politique.

Ils avaient à vrai dire quatre
 saisons qui étaient leur vie, nous dirions leur reli-
 gion, chaque saison appelait une réunion, que ça
 soit la danse de la chasse au printemps, la fête du

J. Morrisette

1 soleil en été, la danse du caribou en automne ou
2 la fête de la lune en hiver, nous, missionnaires,
3 nos fonctionnaires ont détruit tout cela, nous, les
4 blancs qui les accusons des problèmes que nous leur
5 donnons, nous les blancs qui leur ferons à vrai
6 dire couper les arbres lorsqu'il s'agira de passer
7 un pipeline sur le dépouille territoriale.
8

9 Fille elle-même d'un régi-
10 me colonial permissif qui a autorisé son indépendance,
11 la société canadienne aura-t-elle la tolérance
12 qui l'autoriserait à respecter à l'intérieur de ses
13 frontières, des territoires semi-autonomes ou autono-
14 mes en vertu d'un état de fait pré-européen.
15

16 Sinon les Denès, Inuits,
17 se trouvent coincés entre une entité politique,
18 une société libérale, une expérience historique,
19 une géographie structurée et un système égalitaire
20 qui ne veulent pas d'eux.
21

22 Le Canada ne veut pas de ces
23 indiens, mais comme il ne peut s'en débarrasser
24 sans sauver la face, il met alors en branle tout
25 un système de contrepoids, de demi-mesures, pour
26 que le cadeau flotte à demi immergé, si l'indien
27 se noie nul autre que lui n'en sera responsable,
28 croit-on, avec la libéralité vénérienne pourrait-on
29 dire.
30

Le pétrole qui coulera dans

J. Morrisette

le pipeline à Fort Simpson, Norman ou Inuvik sera-t-il à vrai dire si différent de celui qui coule dans les oleoducs et les gazoducs du barème de Koweït ou d'Abudabu.

Qui des indiens du golfe persique et des arabes du Mackenzie réussiront à transformer leur émirat et leur terrain de chasse en territoire et en groupe avec lesquels le reste du monde devra se mesurer d'égal à égal ou alors ces groupuscules disparaîtront-ils dans la masse canadienne sous le triple poids de la démocratie, de l'égalité et du développement.

Monsieur le Juge Berger, vous vous êtes engagé à considérer l'avenir d'une grande vallée fluviale et de son peuple.

Vous êtes peut-être le dernier auquel un tel pouvoir est attribué, et vous faites probablement fonction à la fois d'un Bolivar, d'un Bartoloméo de las Casas et d'un juge des conflits de civilisation et du devenir socio-territorial.

Cette Commission que vous présidez et vous vous êtes plu à le répéter, a un rôle historique à jouer, et nous espérons que les recommandations auxquelles elle aboutira ne lui seront pas reprochées par l'histoire.

On a souvent accusé le Canada, à tort ou à raison, d'être plus ou moins un état

L. Morrisette

sans nation, nous voilà maintenant en face dans le Mackenzie à une nation sans état.

Si c'est le projet d'un pipeline qui semble avoir, en bonne partie, provoqué l'unification et la conciliation d'un territoire et d'une nation, l'intégration de ses valeurs et la prise en main de son développement, le Gouvernement du Canada devrait s'estimer heureux, il devrait s'estimer des plus heureux qu'un tel projet ait réussi à produire aussi nettement et aussi rapidement les résultats auxquels visent ses propres politiques à l'égard des autochtones depuis des décades.

C'est pourquoi au nom des principes mêmes qui ont assuré la naissance et le développement du Dominion du Canada, ce dernier pays devrait permettre la création d'un territoire autonome, sinon d'un pays qui s'autodéterminerait en Atapaski au nom même du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et au nom même des principes qui ont permis la naissance du Canada.

Je crois pour résumer un peu ma pensée que si on utilise l'histoire comme le sont, c'est peut-être la première fois, si on considère à peu près les vingt-cinq (25) à trente (30) républiques qui constituent les territoires américains autant nord que sud-américains, c'est la première fois que des européens auront le droit de réfléchir

J. Morrisette

1 sur leur appropriation territoriale avant qu'elle
2 se fasse par le biais de l'utilisation des ressour-
3 ces naturelles, et ceci me semble très fondamental
4 et dépasser de beaucoup la création d'un pipeline
5 du Mackenzie.

6
7 Merci. Detcho.

8 APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

9 (WITNESS ASIDE)
10
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E. Schiblie

1 MR. WADDELL: The next brief,
2 Mr. Commissioner, is from the Social Justice Committee
3 of Canada, given by Ernest Schiblie.

4
5 ERNEST SCHIBLIE, sworn:

6 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
7 we welcome this opportunity to present our concerns
8 to you regarding the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.
9 We believe that it would be best that we begin with
10 a brief outline of just who we are and what we are
11 trying to do. The Social Justice Committee of Montreal
12 represents a group of Montrealers actively committed
13 to the struggle for social justice in both the inter-
14 national and Canadian arenas. The committee formed
15 early in 1975, grew in direct response to increasing
16 reports of world-wide starvation, publicized by such
17 events as the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974,
18 and by such statements as "Sharing Daily Bread" by
19 the Canadian Catholic Conference at the same time.
20 Part of our inspiration was derived/^{too}from Prime Minister
21 Trudeau's 1975 New Year's message.

22 The goals of the Social
23 Justice Committee of Montreal might best be described
24 as follows: To educate ourselves and our fellow
25 Canadians as to the extent and causes of poverty
26 throughout the world, and to lead people to commit
27 themselves to the establishment of a more just, social
28 and economic order.

29 We began as a group of
30 people who, by and large, were quite ignorant as to the

E. Schiblie

1 real causes of hunger in this world. In fact, when
2 we look back now upon those early days, we were quite
3 presumptuous in believing that we were ever going to
4 help people of the Third World. However, in the course
5 of our studies we quickly came to see that hunger is
6 basically the result of poverty and that much of the
7 poverty in the world is the result of man-made struc-
8 tures. In short, much of the hunger which is now
9 the lot of so many people around the world is the
10 result of colonial and neo-colonial patterns of devel-
11 opment. We have seen how the mineral, agricultural and
12 aboreal wealth of many people has been exploited by the
13 few for their own benefit, leaving very little to the
14 large majority of the world's population. Nor has this
15 been a pattern of the past only, but exists very much
16 in the world of the '70s. Even today after political
17 independence has been granted to many peoples, the
18 natural resources of many Third World countries still
19 remain under the control of western-based institutions
20 and corporations and are used for the benefit, not
21 of the world's poor, but of the rich. The very under-
22 standable and justified desire for national self-
23 reliance is at the heart of present Third World
24 efforts to establish a new international economic
25 order.

26 It is without hesitation
27 that we say that this desire on the part of Third
28 World countries is to a large extent being frustrated
29 by us in the developed world who are ever so anxious
30 to protect our standard of living. It is our society's

E. Schiblie

1 thirst for an ever-increasing share of the world's
2 wealth which has led to the growing poverty of the
3 majority of the world's population. But what we are
4 coming to realize right now is that hunger, disease
5 and death in the Third World is not the only result of
6 the present system. The breakdown of our society
7 can also be largely ascribed to the same cause. At
8 the same time as millions in the world are suffering
9 from too little, we on our part are suffering from
10 too much, and from our greed for more. It is not just
11 by coincidence that we are experiencing increased
12 air and water pollution, rising crime rates, mounting
13 alcohol and drug abuse, the breakdown of family life,
14 the neglect of the powerless such as the elderly, the
15 poor and the handicapped, and so on. Our problems
16 are just the other side of the coin which permits
17 millions to suffer abject poverty so that a relative
18 few may bask in luxury.

19 This is what we meant when
20 we said it was presumptuous of us to think that we
21 would be primarily helping the Third World. As we
22 work for the establishment of a new, more just order,
23 we will benefit just as much as anyone else. An equally
24 interesting fact to us is that back in September last
25 when we were asked what we were doing concerning the
26 Canadian north, we responded that we were too busy
27 with the problem of hunger and our resources were too
28 limited to enter into a new field of endeavor. Since
29 then, however, we have come to see that the very same
30 forces which are causing poverty and starvation in

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1 the Third World are at work in the Canadian north,
2 and that if they are not resisted they will contribute
3 to misery in the north and increased unhappiness here
4 in the south.

5 We do not pretend to be
6 experts on the Canadian north, nor in any way do we
7 presume to speak for the native peoples of the north.
8 They are very capable, as has been demonstrated before
9 this Inquiry during the past few months, of speaking
10 for themselves. Instead, we wish to speak from our
11 own vantage point as Montrealers, concerned not only
12 with justice for other people but with what is happen-
13 ing to us. We know what our ceaseless demands for more
14 and more of the world's wealth is doing to others
15 as well as to ourselves, and so we cry, "Enough.
16 For God's sake, enough."

17 We are told by the Government
18 of Canada and by the energy companies that we must have
19 this pipeline because we need the energy that is in
20 the north if we wish to continue to grow. We are even
21 threatened by some with the prospect of rationing, of
22 unheated homes if this pipeline does not go through.
23 The fact that there are people there whose way of life
24 might be completely upset does not seem to matter. We
25 cannot even take the time to investigate matters. We
26 must go ahead immediately, so we are told.

27 Mr. Commissioner, we don't
28 believe it. There are too many unanswered questions.
29 There is too much at stake to move so quickly. We say,
30 "No. Let us answer some of these questions first."

First, do we really need the pipeline, and if so, why? We know that during the course of this Inquiry you have heard this before but nevertheless it must be answered again. How is it that just five short years ago we were told that we had enough natural gas to serve projected Canadian needs for something like 392 years, and now we are told that there is only enough for eight years or so? Who is kidding whom? Either someone is stretching the truth an awful long way, or else they are totally incompetent. Either way, it certainly does not inspire one to put his trust in these same people who are the very ones calling for the immediate development of northern reserves and the construction of a pipeline. Even if -- and this is not a point we are prepared to concede -- the present estimates of the National Energy Board should be correct and their most pessimistic figures used, independent studies have shown that this could be extended until the 21st century, giving more than enough time to study the whole situation.

Our second question deals with who stands to benefit from the immediate construction of this pipeline? Is it the native people? We are told that they will benefit in several different ways. They will have increased employment, better services and greater access to consumer goods. So we are told, but these are the same arguments which have been used all over the world whenever there has been a conflict between exploitation and the rights of people. Employment? Almost without fail the native

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populations very seldom benefit from employment. More often or not the employment demanded is of a highly skilled nature and people are brought in from elsewhere to do the work. The only work the natives receive is of a very menial nature and frequently temporary. Barnett and Muller in their book, "Global Reach", state:

"The one characteristic of global corporate technology with the most devastating consequences for poor countries is that it destroys jobs." This judgment is supported by Tissa Balasuriya, writing in the December 1974 issue of "Logos".

THE COMMISSIONER: Of what?

A "Logos", it's a magazine published in British Columbia, or rather in (inaudible).

Recent articles in Montreal newspapers concerning the employment of Cree Indians in the James Bay area only seem to confirm these statements. As for the services they are supposed to receive, the experience of the Indians in Brazil give some idea of what these services can do. So they are left with color television and a bottle of cola or something else in exchange for the destruction of their way of life. No, the natives don't benefit. The very fact that they are saying, "No," to this development is proof of the pudding. Will the pipeline benefit us, the people of Southern Canada? At first glance it might seem that it will, for it will give us more energy. But is this really a benefit right now? Even the most optimistic reports say that there is really not all that much natural gas available in the north.

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1 At best, it will keep us going for a few~~more~~ years
2 until we can find it somewhere else. Instead of us
3 making serious efforts to conserve^{our} energy and eliminate
4 waste, we will be able to continue on our merry way
5 for a few years~~more~~, acting as if all our resources
6 were without limit. We can say the same thing for the
7 people of the United States. The pipeline will help us
8 to honor commitments to supply them with a certain amount
9 of gas, commitments made when we were told that we
10 had all surplus gas. In the long run, however, it
11 will do little to help them face their problem of
12 over-consumption, a problem every bit as grave as ours.

13 So whom will the pipeline
14 really benefit? It seems to us that there is only one
15 category of people left -- the consortium of companies
16 involved in this whole project. Since they are in
17 the business for the making of a profit, and since
18 they are so eager to begin without delay, one can only
19 come to the conclusion that they foresee a very good
20 return on their dollar, and ours. The recent flood of
21 commercials on television telling us about the wonder-
22 ful things the energy companies are doing in the north
23 have a purpose, and that purpose is to convince Canadians
24 that we should press on with the development of the
25 north, or rather that we should turn over the develop-
26 ment of the north to these companies, who are so
27 interested in our welfare. The phony oil
28 crisis of 1973 shows us just how public-minded these
29 companies are, and the fact that they are now in the
30 process or rather that they are reported to be in the

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1 process of changing their accounting methods is ade-
2 quate proof of where they stand.

3 To sum up our position, we
4 see the present desire to construct a pipeline down
5 the Mackenzie Valley as another episode in the
6 colonial pattern of development whereby a relative
7 few see the opportunity to turn a profit at the
8 expense of the majority, especially of those who were
9 there in the first place. It is for these reasons that
10 we say, "No," to the pipeline at the present time and
11 call for:

12 1. A moratorium of at least ten years on all northern
13 development. In doing this we align ourselves with many
14 other groups which have made the same appeal. We will
15 not go into the details of benefits which would accrue
16 as a result of a moratorium now, since others have
17 already done this more than adequately. Instead we will
18 simply list some of the activity that should take
19 place during this moratorium so that when it ends we
20 will be able to work in a manner much better suited
21 for the welfare of all.

22 (a) First of all, land settlement treaties must
23 be completed with the native peoples of the area.

24 (b) Independent studies should be made of the
25 consequences and benefits of further natural gas
26 development and of alternative methods of delivery.

27 (c) A national energy policy should be formulated
28 which will not only be concerned with the immediate
29 good of some of us, but which will take into account
30 the fact that we are stewards of dwindling resources

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1 which are for the benefit of all mankind.

2 (d) Adequate safeguards be established to
3 protect the ecology of the area.

4 We are also calling for an
5 investigation of the National Energy Board to deter-
6 mine the reasons for the huge discrepancy between
7 1971 and 1974 estimates of energy, and the formulation
8 of a set of measures to protect us from this ever
9 happening again.

10 By way of conclusion, we
11 also wish to say that even if all our questions today
12 can be answered adequately, we still ask, "By what
13 right can we just go and take something from others
14 just because we need it? Does might make right?"

15 If we can move in on the
16 natives and say, "You are so few and should not hold
17 up the development of we southerners, who are much
18 more numerous," what is to stop other countries in the
19 world who are still more numerous than us from using
20 the very same argument to move in on our resources?

21 We thank you once again, Mr.
22 Commissioner, for listening to us. It is not often a
23 group such as ours have the opportunity to express our-
24 selves in the public forum, and we appreciate very
25 much what you are doing. Thank you very much.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
27 sir.

28 (WITNESS ASIDE)

29 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
30 the next brief is from Gas Metropolitan, and Mr.
Gilles Barbeau.

GILLES BARBEAU, assermenté:

Monsieur le Juge Berger, Gaz Métropolitain tient à faire part à la Commission d'Enquête sur le Pipeline de la Vallée du Mackenzie, des préoccupations qu'elle a relativement à l'approvisionnement en gaz naturel en provenance des régions frontalières et plus particulièrement de la région du delta du Mackenzie et de la mer de Beaufort.

Gaz Métropolitain, est consciente des conséquences liées à la disponibilité du gaz de ces régions, tant sur la situation économique que sur le bien-être des consommateurs de la province de Québec.

Conséquemment, Gaz Métropolitain, distributeur majeur de gaz naturel de la province, désire porter à la connaissance de la Commission, la situation énergétique particulière au Québec ainsi que l'importance du gaz naturel dans l'équilibre énergétique de la province.

L'état actuel de la distribution du gaz dans la province de Québec est le résultat de plusieurs facteurs économiques, historiques et géographiques, qui ont tous grandement affecté la situation du marché et énergétique général dans cette province en comparaison des autres provinces du Canada; et qui ont contribué à faire en sorte

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que la part du gaz naturel n'est présentement que de cinq pour cent (5%) des besoins énergétiques de la province.

A la suite de l'augmentation du prix international du pétrole, au printemps mil neuf cent soixante-treize (1973), l'écart entre le prix du pétrole et le prix du gaz s'est de beaucoup amenuisé et le gaz est devenu plus concurrentiel comme source d'énergie dans la province de Québec.

Cette situation a permis à Gaz Métropolitain d'étendre sa pénétration du marché et même de prévoir son expansion éventuelle à l'extérieur de son territoire actuel.

A la même époque, le Gouvernement provincial a adopté comme politique de chercher à établir un meilleur équilibre entre les différentes sources d'énergie dans la province de Québec, afin de lui permettre de planifier sa politique énergétique de façon plus efficace.

Si l'approvisionnement de plus larges volumes de gaz naturel pouvait être garanti, cette source d'énergie pourrait être mise à la disposition d'un plus grand nombre d'usagers dans cette province, ce qui assurerait une source d'énergie plus sûre et plus souple pour la province de Québec.

Des représentants de la province de Québec ont fait des représentations à cet effet,

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1 lors d'auditions devant l'Office national de l'éner-
2 gie en date du vingt-quatre (24) novembre mil neuf
3 cent soixante-quatorze (1974), et portant sur la
4 nécessité de réserves et la capacité de livraison de
5 gaz naturel canadien et plus particulièrement dans le
6 texte suivant, et je cite:

7 " A cette fin, le gaz naturel
8 peut et devrait jouer un rôle
9 très important. C'est pour-
10 quoi nous croyons que tous les
11 efforts devraient être entre-
12 pris pour permettre en tout
13 temps une disponibilité suffi-
14 sante du gaz naturel afin de
15 satisfaire les besoins cana-
16 diens, et, à notre avis, les
17 moyens suivants pourraient être
18 envisagés:
19 1) l'adoption de mesures inci-
20 tatives à l'exploration;
21 2) la coordination des pro-
22 grammes de mise en valeur des
23 réserves conventionnelles et
24 frontalières de gaz naturel,
25 en vue d'une gestion optimale de
26 cette ressource au cours des
27 prochaines années."

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(Fin de la citation).

Gaz Métropolitain a également présenté un mémoire lors des auditions sus-mentionnées relativement à ses besoins en gaz pour les vingt (20) prochaines années.

Gaz Métropolitain a exprimé sa position sur la disponibilité de gaz pour le marché québécois lors d'auditions tenues dans la ville de Québec, les neuf (9) et dix (10) janvier de cette année, mil neuf cent soixante-seize (1976).

Gaz Métropolitain a déclaré qu'elle dépendait complètement des réserves canadiennes pour son approvisionnement en gaz naturel afin de satisfaire les besoins de ses marchés présents et futurs.

Lors de ces auditions, Gaz Métropolitain a également fait savoir que le marché québécois connaîtrait une croissance continue dans tous les secteurs du territoire qu'elle couvre actuellement et connaîtrait une croissance record sur les nouveaux marchés.

Cette croissance serait due à une plus forte demande de toutes les sources d'énergie.

Le gaz naturel représente actuellement environ cinq pour cent (5%) des besoins énergétiques de toute la province et l'on prévoit

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que le marché du gaz naturel augmentera à un taux plus rapide que toutes les autres formes d'énergie tendant à se rapprocher de la moyenne canadienne de 2% en temps opportun.

La province devrait ainsi être moins dépendante du pétrole importé comme source d'énergie totale au Québec et pourrait obvier quelque peu à la crise d'énergie qu'elle connaît présentement.

Les volumes dont le marché québécois aura besoin au cours des vingt (20) prochaines années, augmenteront de quatre cent soixante-quinze pour cent (475%) soit de cent milliards de pieds cubes (101 milliards) en mil neuf cent soixante-quinze (1975) à cinq cent quatre-vingt-quatre milliards de pieds cubes (584 milliards) en mil neuf cent quatre-vingt-quinze (1995).

Afin de pouvoir répondre à cette augmentation rapide de la demande de volumes de gaz naturel, Gaz Métropolitain tente d'obtenir le gaz nécessaire de différents fournisseurs de gaz en Alberta, mais elle ne peut obtenir tous les volumes de gaz dont elle aura besoin.

Gaz Métropolitain a été constituée en vertu des lois de la province de Québec et son siège social est situé dans les ville et district de Montréal.

Elle est une compagnie

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d'utilités publiques assujettie à la surveillance et au contrôle de la Régie de l'électricité et du gaz de la province de Québec.

Elle est propriétaire d'un réseau de transmission et de distribution qu'elle exploite, de même que d'installations connexes pour la distribution de gaz naturel à des usagers industriels, commerciaux et résidentiels dans le territoire qui lui a été accordé à l'origine par les Statuts de mil neuf cent cinquante-cinq/mil neuf cent cinquante-six (1955/1956).

Ce territoire comprend l'île de Montréal, ses municipalités et les parties d'icelle qui sont situées dans un rayon de quinze (15) milles de l'île, à l'exception d'une partie du comté de Verchères et du comté de Richelieu.

Gaz Métropolitain a toujours été un acheteur du gaz naturel de l'ouest canadien. Lorsque TransCanada Pipelines Limited a fait savoir à Gaz Métropolitain que, selon ses prévisions, la disponibilité actuelle et projetée de gaz à partir des sources traditionnelles ne lui permettrait pas de prendre de nouvelles obligations et qu'elle préférerait agir comme agent de transport plutôt qu'agent pour l'achat et la vente de gaz, Gaz Métropolitain a négocié et acheté directement les volumes additionnels de gaz de d'autres producteurs en Alberta.

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Les négociations avec Pan Alberta Gas Limited ont permis la signature d'un contrat d'achat de gaz en mars mil neuf cent soixante-quatorze (1974) entre Gaz Métropolitain et Pan Alberta.

Cependant, Gaz Métropolitain soumet que le moyen de le plus sûr d'obtenir des volumes additionnels de gaz pour satisfaire les besoins toujours croissants de ses marchés actuels, est de participer directement à un projet prévoyant la construction d'un pipeline, qui amènerait le gaz frontalier dans les régions du sud du Canada et les marchés de l'est du Canada.

C'est pour cette raison que Gaz Métropolitain a déposé une intervention auprès du Mackenzie Valley Registry, conformément à l'ordonnance GH-1-76, afin d'être considérée comme partie intéressée au cours des auditions qui ont lieu présentement à Ottawa et qui décideront de la nécessité de la construction d'un pipeline dans la vallée du Mackenzie, pour transporter le gaz, à partir du delta de cette vallée jusqu'aux régions du sud du Canada; ces auditions décideront également entre deux requérants, la Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited et la Foothills, qui se disputent le Certificat de nécessité publique pour la construction du pipeline proposé et Gaz Métropolitain s'est associée

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1 au groupe de distributeurs de gaz qui appuient le
2 projet de Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline.

3 La participation de Gaz
4 Métropolitain à ces auditions reflète sa préoccupation
5 de satisfaire les besoins toujours plus grands
6 de son territoire, de même que l'expansion de nou-
7 veaux marchés; de plus, sa participation au projet
8 de CAGPL constitue, actuellement, le seul moyen sûr
9 d'obtenir les volumes de gaz additionnels qui lui
10 permettront de planifier l'approvisionnement en éner-
11 gie requis par la croissance de ses marchés.

12 La consommation actuelle
13 de gaz dans la province de Québec représente un point
14 huit pour cent (1.8%) de la production canadienne
15 totale. Bien que cette consommation puisse apparaître
16 comme marginale, elle est très importante à l'intérêt
17 public du Québec et est reliée de façon étroite au degré
18 d'industrialisation de cette province.

19 Plusieurs facteurs d'intérêt
20 public pour la province de Québec, rendent essentiels
21 des volumes plus importants de gaz pour cette provin-
22 ce.

23 La disponibilité de volumes
24 plus importants de gaz servira l'intérêt des usagers
25 et contribuera sans aucun doute au développement
26 économique de plusieurs régions non-industrialisées
27 du territoire actuel et même à l'extérieur du territoire

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de Gaz Métropolitain.

A cet égard, il ne serait pas dans l'intérêt public qu'une compagnie de distribution de gaz comme Gaz Métropolitain soit confinée un approvisionnement provenant des régions traditionnelles: Un récent rapport de l'Office National de l'Energie ne faisait-il pas état du fait que ces régions ne seraient pas même aptes à approvisionner les marchés de consommation actuels au-delà des années 80 si de nouvelles sources d'approvisionnement n'étaient pas développées.

On ne peut donc pas plus dire qu'une telle situation serait à même de contribuer à l'implantation d'une politique énergétique par la province de Québec.

Tout effort pour assurer des sources additionnelles d'approvisionnement doit être encouragé dans l'intérêt public.

La disponibilité de gaz dans certaines régions, en comparaison avec d'autres sources d'énergie, est un prérequis important pour le développement industriel de cette province, plus particulièrement pour les industries qui ne peuvent substituer le gaz naturel par un autre combustible tel que l'industrie de l'acier, du verre et des hydrocarbures.

A titre d'usager, l'industrie

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recherche une source d'énergie qui convient le mieux à ses besoins; l'industrie recherche les meilleurs prix et la garantie de pouvoir obtenir la même source d'énergie à l'avenir.

Les industries principales se préoccupent également de l'évolution des prix, des coûts de conversion de nouvelles installations, de même que les coûts d'exploitation et d'entretien.

En conséquence, si le prix du gaz naturel demeure concurrentiel comparativement aux autres sources d'énergie, et si l'on garantit la disponibilité du gaz naturel, l'industrie optera pour le gaz naturel comme source d'énergie pour son développement.

Tous ces facteurs sont importants pour établir et permettre la croissance des entreprises industrielles actuelles, la création de nouvelles et, pour améliorer la structure industrielle du Québec, afin de réduire le chômage.

La participation de Gaz Métropolitain au projet de Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited, contribuera à assurer l'accès au gaz naturel des régions frontalières, lequel devrait permettre de satisfaire les besoins du Canada, y inclus ceux de la province.

Gaz Métropolitain est d'avis que le gaz de l'Arctique devra être disponible à la

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consommation le plus rapidement possible, puisque seul ce gaz pourra, à court terme, permettre de pallier, de façon déterminante et économique, aux insuffisances en approvisionnement de gaz naturel qui doivent se produire dans les années à venir.

Pour le Québec, le cas contraire est peut-être plus néfaste que pour d'autres provinces, alors que déjà présentement l'on est -- l'on est dépendant de l'importation d'huile dans une proportion de soixante-quinze pour cent (75%), alors que la plupart des autres provinces du Canada profitent déjà de l'huile de source canadienne.

L'avantage de la protection de l'environnement et de la lutte contre la pollution par l'emploi d'un combustible propre, particulièrement dans les centres urbains, représente un autre avantage moins évident, mais qui est relié directement au développement de la province.

Le gaz a toujours été reconnu comme un combustible plus propre que les autres combustibles utilisés aujourd'hui et aucun système de transformation des gaz toxiques n'est nécessaire de la part des usagers commerciaux et industriels du gaz naturel.

En conclusion, nous demandons à la Commission qu'avant de rendre sa décision, votre Commission doit prendre en considération la position

des québécois, qui ont besoin, le plus rapidement possible, de volumes additionnels de gaz des régions frontalières.

Etant donné les implications à long terme que suppose l'implantation d'un gazoduc sur l'écologie et sur les autochtones des régions du Nord, de même que sur l'ensemble des aspects économiques et sociaux du Canada et plus particulièrement du Québec, un équilibre approprié devrait être atteint entre les besoins légitimes de chacun.

En conséquence, les recommandations que votre Commission fera au Gouvernement canadien devront être formulées de façon à ne pas imposer au transporteur public qui se verra accorder le Certificat de nécessité publique la construction et l'exploitation d'un réseau de pipeline dans la vallée du Mackenzie des conditions telles qu'elles seraient trop contraignantes et qui auraient pour effet d'augmenter les coûts de construction et d'exploitation au-delà d'un niveau de rentabilité économique.

Monsieur le Juge, nous vous remercions de nous avoir donné l'opportunité de donner notre point de vue.

LE COMMISSAIRE: Merci.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

(WITNESS ASIDE)

Mr. & Mrs. Geeza

MR. WADDELL: Well, Mr.

Commissioner, you've heard from the producers of gas in the delta and the pipeline companies, and now distributors. Our next brief, I'm told, you'll hear from two individuals who describe themselves as consumers. Those are Vivian and John Geeza from Montreal.

JOHN GEEZA

MRS. VIVIAN GEEZA, sworn:

MR. GEEZA: Mr. Commissioner, we are here speaking as private citizens, we're not here as members of any group or any institution. We came here to voice our opinions as people in the south who are consumers of gas and oil. In a way we see ourselves at the receiving end of the pipeline.

The pipeline question not only affects us as consumers, but we feel it's a decision point that will change the nature of the country we live in. Either Canada at this point looks forward, or it takes the coward's way out.

In 1972, Jean-Luc Pepin, who was then Federal Minister of Trade & Commerce, said that Canada would be crazy to sit on its reserves of natural gas and oil.

"In maybe 25 to 50 years we'll be heating ourselves from the rays of the sun and then we'll kick ourselves in the pants for not capitalizing on what we had when gas and oil were current commodities."

Mr. & Mrs. Geeza

Now I think everyone would say this is a naive view. But plenty of people are acting under the logic that Canada should be a big seller in/^aseller's market, the North American fossil fuel market. Now considering the impossibility of making plastics out of sunshine, and the importance in our society of petrochemicals as a raw material (not as an energy resource), it's absurd to suggest that demand for them will drop off completely. The fact is that these resources will become more and more rare; they should be saved for instances where nothing else can be used. England used to run its industry on wood fuel; today, a hardwood table costs about a month's rent. I wouldn't put one in the fireplace.

Fossil fuels take billions of years to form. By definition, they are the energy source of the past and are now being marketed wastefully and depleted recklessly because our society seems to be too lazy or too rigid to invest any substantial amount of time or capital into developing new energy sources.

Meanwhile, the temperature in our bank building reached 85 degrees Fahrenheit in January. The new buildings we see going up have glass walls which call for as much air-conditioning energy in the summer as they do heating in the winter; they have walls without light switches so the lights can't be turned out. Train services are being cut. Commuters are being forced to use their cars, and

Mr. & Mrs. Geeza

1 speaking of cars, I understand that a medium sized
2 car today weighs as much as a larger sized car ten
3 years ago, and here's our gas bill which informs
4 us very clearly on the back that the more we use, the
5 cheaper it gets.

6 Now, we feel our society has
7 no right to ask the people of the north to accept this
8 pipeline while our need for it is based only on waste
9 and greed and laziness.

10 The fact that all this
11 capital is suddenly available for investment means
12 we are faced with a wonderful opportunity for invest-
13 ment in alternatives. We're not losing sight, you
14 see, of the fact that we as consumers, ultimately pick
15 up the tab, and this is why we had the peculiar idea
16 that we should have a say in what way our money is spent.

17 We'd like to see research into
18 ways of storing solar and wind and tidal power
19 more efficiently. We would like to see solar power
20 in particular developed, and this is an area in
21 which no oil company has any interest at all. Why
22 should they?

23 We can't see ignoring future
24 shortages by keeping gas and oil prices so low they
25 encourage wastage, because this amounts to giving the
26 energy away. Nor can we see poor people penalized by
27 unpredictable fuel prices. Present alternatives have
28 to involve subsidies for the buildings, for other
29 conservation measures, and a reversal of those sliding
30 scales that give the price break to the big consumer.

Mr. & Mrs. Geeza

1 But in the long run, this
2 country right now has the resources to invest some
3 of its mental energy into developing future sources
4 of energy, whatever they may be, still unknown to us --
5 solar, wind power -- that will help future generations,
6 not only Canadians but people all over the world.

7 Now we have a bit of a
8 problem here. We want our money spent on alternatives,
9 and Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline and Foothills Pipe
10 Lines, two private companies, want to spend the
11 largest private capital investment ever made on building
12 an old-fashioned pipeline. This is a genuine conflict
13 of interest. It's not going to go away. So long as
14 the present -- as the sale of present resources and
15 development of the future resources are in the same
16 hands, there will be no motive to develop future
17 resources efficiently and make them available cheaply.
18 We, the consumer, get high prices and bad information.

19 So look at what the present
20 system has in store for the Mackenzie Valley. Concen-
21 trated mining operations, a road, a gas pipeline,
22 an oil pipeline buried in permafrost, an influx of
23 southern people and capital. It's impossible to
24 predict dependably what is going to happen at this time.
25 All to develop fuel resources for which alternatives
26 should even now be being sought.

27 The Mackenzie to us ^{it} seems, is
28 a greater resource in another sense. It's our chance
29 to learn how other people live with respect for their
30 land, for the non-human life that lives around them,

1 with their neighbors, and with themselves. We certainly
2 can't pretend our society has solved its problems,
3 and I doubt that fuel is going to solve it for us.
4 There is another kind of standard of living here.
5 It's probably wilder and greener and better, and it
6 can't be reduced to dollars and cents. Few nations
7 of the world are rich enough or far-sighted enough
8 to recognize and preserve this kind of resource.

9 We recognize that it's
10 impossible to describe exactly what families in the
11 north are going to experience as a result of the
12 proposed pipeline. We don't pretend to know. We do
13 hear rumors, however, that decisions are going ahead
14 without waiting for anybody. An economist friend of
15 mine was offered a job over a year ago as a super-
16 visor on one of these pipelines, and we asked him if
17 he didn't have to wait, or whether the project didn't
18 have to wait until after the Berger Inquiry made its
19 report first. He laughed. A story like this makes
20 me worried that the people of the north may well be
21 heard and heard well; but that their word and their
22 decisions are not going to be acted on.

23 Both the people of the north
24 and the people in the south are being treated in a
25 very high-handed manner and it makes us mad.

26 Thank you, Mr. Commissioner.

27 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

28 MR. WADDELL: Judge Berger,
29 the next brief is from Domtar Limited, it will be
30 presented by Mr. B. Daigle. Mr. Daigle is D-A-I-G-L-E.

B. Daigle

B. DAIGLE, sworn:

THE WITNESS; Mr. Commissioner,

Domtar Limited welcomes the opportunity to appear before Mr. Thomas R. Berger, the Commissioner for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, to comment briefly on the environmental constraints to be applied to the construction and operation of a pipeline to bring natural gas from the Arctic to the southern markets.

Domtar Limited, a company incorporated under the laws of Canada with over 96% of its common shares having registered ownership in Canada, is engaged in the manufacture of pulp and paper products, chemicals and construction materials at 75 plants in eight provinces of Canada, which are sold in both domestic and export markets. Sales in '75 despite numerous and lengthy strikes, amounted to \$815 million.

In Canada, Domtar provides work for about 17,000 people whose earnings in '75 including fringe benefits, totalled about \$250 million. The 75 plants purchased \$450 million of raw materials, supplies and energy with over 90% of all purchases being placed with Canadian suppliers. A total of 12 billion cubic feet of natural gas was consumed in 26 plants, which used 40% of the company's total fuel consumption.

The report of the National Energy Board issued in April of '75 and entitled: "Canadian Natural Gas Supply and Requirements," indicates that without frontier gas, deliveries east

B. Daigle
Miss D. Hayes

of Alberta would probably be sufficient to meet both the domestic and export requirements within two years. The report further indicates that even if exports were to be restricted to volumes in excess of Canadian needs, the gas supply from conventional areas would be adequate only to 1984.

Domtar, while accepting that the quality of the environment must be maintained on an overall basis, contends nonetheless that an early solution to our energy problem is imperative.

Domtar maintains that the environmental problems, being essentially technical in nature, are solvable.

Domtar therefore submits that reasonable environmental standards should be established as soon as possible to permit completion of the construction of the pipeline in sufficient time to meet Canada's need for frontier gas and at the most economical price.

Thank you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, sir.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I'd like to call a brief, going a little farther down our list today. Is Debbie Hayes here? Well have Miss Hayes next, please.

MISS DEBORAH HAYES, sworn:

THE WITNESS: I know what your

Miss D. Hayes

1 first opinion is going to be, that to you I seem very
2 young. But in my opinion any decision that is to be
3 made about a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline will concern
4 my generation more than yours. It is my generation
5 that will be faced with the shortage or with the
6 problems of Indian people.

7 My name is Deborah Hayes,
8 and I'm a graduating student of the MacDonald Cartier
9 High School. I am deeply concerned about the situation.

10 My original plan was to
11 attend this hearing with a group of my fellow students.
12 However, I found not one of the opinion that a Commis-
13 sion such as this could impress sufficient force upon
14 a bureaucracy one iota of sense. So I am here to
15 prove them wrong. I am here because I have confidence
16 that you will listen to the little people.

17 I realize that our Canadian
18 north is rich in oil and natural gas, mineral deposits,
19 and powerful river systems. Of this I am well-informed.
20 However, I do not believe that the lives of the
21 Indians, the Inuit, the Metis, should be the stakes.
22 After all, no one is making any more land, the
23 producer went out of business a long long time ago.

24 I as a Canadian citizen have
25 a responsibility, a responsibility to insist that a
26 ten-year moratorium be imposed before any further
27 development is permitted. Why? So we may look for
28 some real alternatives, so we may acquire concrete
29 information.

30 It is not in the power of a

Miss D. Hayes

1 mere handful of people to decide the actions to be
2 taken. I can't allow them to destroy these peoples'
3 lives just to keep on using. There is no social justice
4 in such an act. Such an act shows no responsibility
5 whatsoever. Why then do we in a democratic society
6 allow this to happen? It must stop.

7 The decision that is to be
8 made will affect my life more than yours. It is my
9 generation who will suffer or who will gain. My hope
10 is that the people who come -- that people will come
11 before material goods, for who would need the electr-
12 icity, the oil, the gas, the minerals, if there were
13 no people?

14 I as an individual can do
15 little, so I'm told; but unless we as a society begin
16 to realize what it's like to change an entire way of
17 life, we should not impose this change on anyone. I
18 shall be the last to force such a change. I demand
19 a ten-year moratorium, it is only just, and we are,
20 so I'm told, living in a just society. Well, in
21 simple terms, sometimes I wonder.

22 Thank you.

23 (WITNESS ASIDE)

24 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
25 I'm in your hands. We have coffee available now.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: We'll
27 have it. Just before we adjourn for coffee, let me
28 comment on a point made in two or three of the
29 briefs this morning.

30 The Government of Canada will,

1 of course, have to determine whether a Mackenzie
2 Valley Gas Pipeline is to be built and an energy
3 corridor established in the Arctic. The people who
4 govern our country, who were elected to make these
5 decisions, and in a democratic country that is the
6 way it ought to be, that is the way it must be, and
7 that is the way it is in Canada. There was an element
8 of skepticism expressed in some briefs. I just ask you
9 to remember this, that the mandate of this Inquiry is
10 unique in our experience. I don't know of any govern-
11 ment anywhere in the world that has established an
12 Inquiry to look into the social, economic and environ-
13 mental impact of a large-scale frontier project before
14 and not after the fact. This Inquiry was established
15 by the Government of Canada to do that job.

16 The Inquiry has been provided
17 with funds by the Government of Canada to enable us
18 to do its job. We have been given the power to issue
19 subpoenas to bring people before us, to bring documents
20 before us. We have established a procedure for the
21 -- by which studies and reports in the possession of
22 the oil and gas industry and the pipeline companies,
23 in the possession of departments and agencies of the
24 Government of Canada, are brought before this Inquiry
25 and examined, opened up to scrutiny in public. The
26 Government of Canada, on the recommendation of this
27 Inquiry, has provided funds in very large amounts and
28 the Inquiry has made public the extent of these
29 funds, and I'm not going to cite the figures now be-
30 cause I'm bound to get them wrong if I do, but

1 Miss Crosby, who is our information officer, can supply
2 you with those figures. The Government of Canada on
3 the recommendation of this Inquiry has provided funds
4 in very large amounts to native organizations repres-
5 enting northern peoples, to environmental groups, to
6 northern municipalities and to northern business to
7 enable them to participate in this Inquiry on an equal
8 footing, so far as that is possible, with the pipeline
9 companies.

10 These things constitute in
11 many respects new departures in the conduct of public
12 business in Canada, and they were all measures that
13 were taken by the Government of Canada. So that when
14 you consider that Ministers in the Government of Canada
15 -- Mr. MacDonald, who was then the Minister of Energy,
16 has made it plain some time ago that the government
17 would not determine whether a pipeline should be
18 built until it had received the report of this Inquiry
19 and the report of the National Energy Board; and his
20 successor, Mr. Gillespie, has made that plain himself;
21 and of course Mr. Buchanan, the Minister of Indian Affairs
22 & Northern Development has again and again said that
23 the government will not make a decision until the
24 report of this Inquiry has been completed and is in
25 the hands of the government.

26 So when you are weighing those
27 statements, by representatives of the government
28 elected by the people of this country to determine
29 these matters, it is worth bearing in mind that the
30 order-in-council establishing this Inquiry was framed

1 by the government and passed by the government, the
2 funding has been provided by the government, the
3 powers of this Inquiry stem from a mandate conferred
4 by the government.

5 So it's a free country,
6 you're all entitled to be as skeptical as you wish,
7 but I simply ask you to bear those things in mind. So
8 we'll have a cup of coffee now.

9 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

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30

E. Mountjoy

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well

ladies and gentlemen, we'll call our hearing to order again and give our full attention to those who are going to present briefs this morning.

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, the next brief will be given by Professor Eric Mountjoy of the Department of Geological Sciences at McGill University here in Montreal.

I ask the people in the back of the room if they could come in, please. I've been asked to say that there is some materials on the Inquiry available at the back of the room for any of the people in the audience that would like to read them, pick them up.

ERIC MOUNTJOY, sworn;

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

Mr. Berger, I would like to raise here some of what I feel are some basic concerns and responsibilities relative to development of petroleum resources in the frontier regions of Canada, but before I begin, let's think it back to where petroleum was first discovered.

It was first discovered in Oil Springs, Ontario in 1857. We've had about a hundred years of petroleum development to this point. It's a very interesting substance. Really everything you see in this room is derived from petroleum; part of the chairs, the rugs, most of your clothes, parts of the walls and other things. We are almost completely dependent upon it not only for material goods but also

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1 for transport, heating and electricity. It really is
2 an amazing substance.

3 What have we got left of this
4 amazing substance? It's hard to estimate but something
5 in the order of 60 to 100 years' supply. It depends
6 on whose estimates you want to use but gradually, these
7 will diminish with time. How can we best utilize
8 what is left? I am a geologist. I know something
9 about how difficult is to look and search for petroleum
10 resources. I've spent a few summers in the north but
11 this doesn't make me an expert.

12 The reason why I am here is
13 I feel the following are important.

14 1. Canadians, especially eastern Canadians, are
15 poorly informed about energy matters.

16 2. Canadians are too compacent about our energy
17 resources and have been spoiled for too long by cheap
18 energy.

19 3. Most Canadians have an illusion that as long as
20 supplies are available there will be no difficulty in
21 finding new sources. They do not realize or understand
22 that long lead times are required -- lead times in the
23 order to 10 to 20 years to bring new supplies to market.

24 4. Development of frontier petroleum resources is
25 vital to the economic well-being of Canada in order
26 to alleviate some of the short-falls in future energy
27 supplies.

28 Therefore, I feel, that
29 development of petroleum in the frontier has an impact
30 on both northern and southern Canadians.

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Also I have a deep concern for Canada's future. I am concerned that many people are either oblivious or blind or afraid to what lies ahead of us in the near future with respect to energy supplies. For the next 10 to 20 years, we will still be dependent upon petroleum as a source for most of our energy requirements because we cannot phase in other energy sources fast enough. Tidal power and solar power or energy can only produce a small fraction of our requirements. This leaves nuclear power and coal as the key alternative sources. With the growing debate and alarm about nuclear power, this leaves us with coal as our only real alternative energy source.

Is the pipeline needed and justified? The various presentations by Arctic Gas and Foothills Gas have adequately shown that it is justified to meet present needs extrapolated into the 1980's without allowing for any increase due to growth. One only has to refer to the most recent government data on future available supplies of petroleum published in "An Energy Strategy for Canada". Now, I am not sure if any of you haven't seen this, you should do so. We have no business being here unless we are up to date on these matters, and I would like to strongly emphasize that this^{is} critical for all Canadians to know something about what's in these documents.

We are no longer self-sufficient in energy. This report encourages us to be as self-reliant as possible, whatever "self-reliant" means. We can no longer meet our energy requirements for the

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foreseeable future and I doubt if we ever will be.

For crude oil, the gap between demand and reserves available will gradually widen until by 1985, we will experience a short-fall of 1,000 barrels per day. This amounts to 43% of our total requirements so you can see how much we'll need by 1985 to be imported, thus becoming more dependent upon imported oil and increasing economic risks and risks of disruption in supply.

For natural if you'll look at the graphs in this report, we're much better off. It is estimated that domestic demand will not exceed supplies until somewhere between 1986 to 1988, allowing for a gradual decline in exports to the U.S. or a few years longer if exports to the U.S. are decreased drastically. The price for natural gas has been kept artificially low and has increased its demand because it is now the lowest priced energy available. Hence, from all this, the specific targets in the Federal Government policy in "An Energy Strategy for Canada" is as follows, and I'll quote page 25 on their summary report or page 148 in this report:

"To double, at a minimum, exploration and development activity in the frontier regions of Canada over the next three years under acceptable social and environmental conditions."

Thus the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is justified and will take probably four or five years to bring the gas to market.

Now, I know Ernie Schiblie's

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1 group has questioned these estimates and they've
2 raised the comment:

3 "Well, who are we to believe?"

4 Well, the early estimates were very rough estimates
5 and they made the assumption that they could find oil
6 and gas as easily as has been done in the past in
7 Alberta during the '50's and '60's. It is now
8 much more difficult because it is much scarcer to find.
9 We found all the easy deposits and therefore with time,
10 it will become even more and more difficult to find
11 more resources.

12 Now, it also depends on how
13 the estimates are made but I can assure you that the
14 government has done a reasonable job in the figures
15 that are presented here. In addition, the Department
16 of Energy, Mines and Resources and presumably the
17 Cabinet and the Federal Government are all in favor
18 of some means of transporting petroleum from the
19 frontier areas southward. That's what I would
20 read into this report. In addition to this of course,
21 Arctic Gas wish to help the Americans transport gas
22 to the U.S. midwest in order to reduce the cost of
23 building a pipeline.

24 Some basic questions I would
25 raise at this point. Should the energy demands --
26 many of them I would consider selfish -- of eastern
27 Canada, deplete the nonrenewable resources of western
28 Canada, the Mackenzie Delta and the Arctic Islands and
29 other areas?

30 Should one group of Canadians

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1 or a province control development of one or more
2 natural resources?

3 How long should exploration
4 companies be kept in the dark about regulations
5 concerning exploration, the environment and transporta-
6 tion systems to southern markets?

7 These are big questions
8 and need to be broken down into simpler questions that
9 come closer to home for you and I. We will be forced
10 to make choices between alternatives. A few of the
11 many alternatives and choices that will have to be
12 decided upon by southern Canadians are as follows:
13 * the choice perhaps between flying somewhere and
14 taking the train or bus.
15 * Perhaps between truck or rail transport for instance.
16 * Between driving in one's personal car and using
17 public transport.
18 * Between one and two and for some of us, three,
19 cars per family.
20 * The use of energy intensive equipment and materials

21 Eventually, we'll have to
22 make a decision between heating our homes and driving
23 our cars. Hard to believe? No, not really. We
24 are dealing with a nonrenewable resource. We cannot
25 replace it.

26 Your answers and decisions
27 about these questions have a direct impact on the
28 north and other frontier areas. We cannot go on
29 forever finding petroleum resources in these regions,
30 building hydro-electric plants, etc. There are definite

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1 limits to these resources. Thus, growth as we have
2 seen it since 1945 cannot continue. The petroleum
3 joy ride is fast coming to a close. Unfortunately
4 the average Canadian does not see how serious a
5 problem it is, to ensure that we have adequate future
6 supplies of energy just to maintain present levels of
7 consumption. This was confirmed again last night
8 by the survey given by Gibbins and Ponting. Although
9 estimates for future petroleum supplies vary a good
10 deal, they all say the same thing: "We are gradually
11 running out." The critical period for Canada will be
12 the mid-1980's.

13 I'd next like to say something
14 about native rights. Others, I feel, are much more
15 expert than I. The hearings to date have certainly
16 publicized the need for a fair and just native claims
17 settlement. It is clear that the Indian and Eskimo
18 want to determine their own destiny and to preserve
19 as much of their own lifestyles as possible.-- just
20 as much as we do. They do^{not} want the modern technological
21 society of southern Canada.

22 In many cases, we have taken
23 away their lifestyle, made them dependent on government
24 handouts and set up a sociological pattern for them
25 that in a sad majority of cases makes for a life
26 dominated by alcohol and devoid of hopes and aspirations.
27 Little in their culture or tradition equips them for
28 assimilation into the 20th century technological
29 society and a lot of things that white people think
30 are important, for example, money, material possessions

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1 growth, pollution, etc., don't make sense to them
2 and for some of us. Southern Canadians should accept
3 and respect the Indian and Eskimo and their way of
4 life.

5 The problem becomes one
6 of finding ways for the Indian and Eskimo to adjust
7 to Canadian society on something close to their own
8 terms and this must be built into the negotiation
9 procedures.

10 With respect to laying the
11 pipeline, it should be done with the least amount of
12 interference to the environment and with little or
13 no disturbance to the present communities along the
14 Mackenzie Valley.

15 Very thorough, careful and
16 well-documented environmental studies have been carried
17 out by both industry and the Department of Environment.
18 Some environmental disturbance along the 20-foot
19 pipeline right-of-way cannot be avoided. Even with the
20 6,000 to 7,000 workers and innumerable pieces of
21 equipment, it should be possible to set up work camps
22 will removed from the native communities. In addition,
23 by using river transport, it should be feasible to
24 keep road-building and disruption of the environment
25 away from the pipeline to a minimum.

26 Hence, it seems to me that
27 by isolating the work camps, the pipeline can be
28 built with little or not disruption to the local
29 communities and still keep environmental damage to a
30 minimum. Mr. Berger, you have observed the test sections

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1 of a pipeline first-hand and can better judge what is
2 minimum environmental damage in the north than most
3 of us.

4 Interestingly, the Northwest
5 Territories -- the Council of the Northwest Territories
6 has on record reaffirmed the continued petroleum
7 exploration and development activities and if you
8 like I could read parts of that but I won't. They
9 have moved and reaffirmed the Seventh Council support
10 for approval of the associated pipeline or pipeline
11 systems required to market northern petroleum resources
12 discovered and delineated as a result of such explora-
13 tion depending on optimum participation and involvement
14 of the residents in that area, optimum employment of
15 northerners during planning, construction and operation
16 of the pipeline, provision for a just and equitable
17 compensation and adequate provisions for protection of
18 the environment.

19 Next, I'd like to turn to
20 the responsibilities of individual Canadians, and this
21 I feel ~~is~~ my key point here this morning. I have
22 three areas I'd like to look at; first of all government,
23 press and news media, and finally individuals.

24 It seems to me that the
25 government has to prepare a clear energy policy that
26 will make all Canadians aware of the seriousness of the
27 lack of sufficient future supplies of energy and will
28 make Canadians conserve energy--and I say "make." We aren't
29 doing it voluntarily.

30 For the press and new media,

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1 they should publicize and inform the public more
2 effectively and responsibly on all energy matters but
3 especially concerning waste and conservation. It
4 should be the concern of every Canadian, not just a
5 few. Last night, in the summary presented by Gibbins
6 and Ponting, 63% of the people surveyed had heard about
7 the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline but only 31% of their
8 sample in Quebec had heard about it. What is the
9 press doing?

10 They've given some publicity
11 to this hearing but they have certainly not given much
12 publicity to this kind of thing and every Canadian
13 should be aware of what this is. The news media should
14 be the promoters of all forms of conservation, especially
15 with respect to the private automobile which consumes
16 30% of our total energy; publicity about increasing
17 public transport, increasing general awareness and
18 the inevitable change of lifestyles that will result
19 from the change-over to alternative energy sources and
20 energy shortages, etc., is badly needed.

21 For example, there has been
22 little publicity on this report. It should have been
23 given the widest possible coverage. It isn't very
24 exciting reading but there are important data and
25 policy being formulated that every Canadian should
26 know about. To wait for shortages is to ignore the
27 long lead times that I have mentioned earlier of ten
28 to twenty years required for finding all major new
29 energy sources. We can only turn to alternative
30 sources such as coal and atomic power in the long

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term, not the short term.

For individual Canadians.

Individual Canadians all have a responsibility in energy matters. We seem to put this off to Commissions like this or Inquiries and to the government, but it's our responsibility. All of us are part of Canada's energy problem. In order to become part of the solution, we have ^{to} consume much less in terms of both material goods and energy. There are thousands of ways to conserve but the key ones are all revolved around the private automobile and energy intensive products.

In this respect, a good catch slogan for all of us to follow is: "small is beautiful". Although Canadians are highly intelligent, I am becoming more and more convinced that the only way to make a significant change in the consumption of non-renewable fuel resources is to either considerably increase prices for energy, especially for the private automobile or introduce rationing. I am not in favor of more government controls but I am at a loss to know of any other methods that would be fair to all and yet reduce consumption significantly. Up to now, we have only considered Canadian needs. Do we have a responsibility to other countries? What about future generations of Canadians as the young person before me?

The Indians and Inuit of Northwest Canada must wonder about and question the waste of so many things in southern Canada. Unless we can show them that we are capable of wisely and responsibly using these resources, this could perhaps

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for
1 give them a reason/denying pipeline access across their
2 land. Is it that difficult for Canadians to act
3 more responsibly regarding energy, especially petroleum
4 products?

5 Finally, some recommendations.

6 1. That agreement in principle be reached on native
7 land claims before pipeline construction is begun and that
8 a reasonable time limit be placed on this. I've suggest-
9 ed here about the end of 1977 be set as a guideline but
10 perhaps it could be longer. I think we all work best
11 when we have deadlines.

12 2. That the pipeline be built in such a way that:

13 a. The existing northern communities are not
14 modified in any way, and,

15 b. Minimum environmental damage is permitted along
16 the pipeline right-of-way.

17 Although not part of your jurisdiction, I would like to
18 make three additional recommendations to the Federal
19 Government and Canadians in general.

20 1. In order to allow for an orderly development of
21 petroleum resources in the Arctic Islands, pipeline
22 hearings for the southward transport of petroleum
23 should be initiated by the government at an early
24 date. I would say some time in 1977. The oil companies
25 and the Canadian public would then be better able to
26 plan accordingly for development or for acquiring and
27 utilizing energy sources.

28 2. In order for Canada to plan more effectively so
29 that there will be a minimum of disruptions to our
30 energy supplies in the 1980's, I recommend that the

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1 Federal and Provincial Governments mount a much more
2 serious and effective campaign that will force Canadians
3 to conserve energy. We need tough effective policies
4 to deal with the serious energy problem.

5 3. Finally, there is a need for a clear energy policy
6 statement, one that will make Canadians realize the
7 seriousness of the present energy situation. As the
8 hearings have progressed, the issues and demands have
9 tended to become more black and white whereas in reality
10 they are a part of a broader spectrum of choices open
11 to us.

12 There is a great need for
13 understanding and compromise on all sides. My impression
14 is that the Indians and Eskimos of the Northwest
15 Territories are relatively better informed on these
16 matters, thanks to your efforts, Mr. Berger, and those of
17 the C.B.C. northern service than are many southern
18 Canadians who are appallingly ignorant or misinformed
19 despite the overabundance of the communication media
20 available to southern Canadians.

21 Thank you, Mr. Berger, for
22 crystallizing some of the basic dilemmas of our society.
23 Our society can't simply go on developing and growing
24 forever. There are definite limits. Frontier energy
25 supplies, even if proved to be abundant, are going to
26 be difficult and costly to move to southern markets;
27 costly not only in terms of money, but the environment
28 and changes of lifestyles.

29 Canadians have to make some
30 important decisions about sources of energy now. We

E. Mountjoy
T. Ford

1 cannot wait for energy disruption to happen. What is
2 your decision? It begins with the gas-eating monster
3 that most of you drove here this morning, as well as
4 many other aspects of our energy intensive lifestyles.
5 Unless you are willing to begin reducing your energy
6 consumption now, you are part of the energy problem.

7 Thank you.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
9 very much sir.

10 (WITNESS ASIDE)

11 MR. WADDELL: Judge Berger,
12 you'll notice on our list, we have a brief from
13 Crossroads International. We were unable to reach
14 them to advise them of the time of the hearing and
15 we'll have to contact them later and probably get a
16 written brief from them.

17 The next brief then would
18 be from Mr. Terrance Ford.

19 TERRANCE FORD, sworn;

20 THE WITNESS: Your honor,
21 when I came in here last night, I thought I'd walked
22 into a Liberal Party caucus when I heard Mr. C. Archer
23 performing here but I find that I am in the Mackenzie
24 Valley Pipeline -- I am in the right room.

25 To start my submission, I
26 would like to quote from --

27 THE COMMISSIONER: There is a
28 wider range of views expressed here than you might
29 perhaps find in the Liberal Party caucus.

30 A I hope so and particularly

T. Ford

1 the provincial party, I'll tell you.

2 To start my submission, I would
3 like to quote from "An Energy Policy for Canada" publish-
4 ed in 1973 by the Department of Energy, Mines and
5 Resources.

6 "Canadians use more energy per capita than any
7 nation of the world other than the United States.
8 About ^{quarter} a/ of our disposable income is used to pur-
9 chase and operate equipment to provide heat, light
10 and transportation. Energy in Canada provides the
11 basic heat and light for living and also makes
12 possible such frills and extravagances as the
13 electric toothbrush.

14 The ^{major} / difficulty in deter-
15 mining Canada's oil and gas potential ..."

16 The report continues:

17 "... is that a number of factors are highly
18 uncertain. In the case of coal, hydro and nuclear
19 energy, there is a good degree of confidence about
20 supply conditions over the long term. In the
21 case of oil and gas, there is considerable uncer-
22 tainty about how large the oil and gas resources
23 actually are because most of these resources have
24 not been discovered and are only inferred through
25 knowledge of the geology of potential petroleum
26 basins. Further, there is considerable uncertainty
27 about how much of the potential will become avail-
28 able at different price levels, and finally there
29 is uncertainty about the pace at which ^{the} petroleum
30 resource can be discovered and developed. This

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high degree of uncertainty demands that special attention be directed to these energy sources.

There are four basic questions:

1. What is the resource potential?
2. How much of this potential might become available at various prices?
3. What would be the pace of discoveries and resource development?
4. How does the estimated resource availability compare to the standard forecasts of oil and gas demand in Canada?"

In a Science Council of Canada report published in 1973, report #19, "Natural Resource Policy Issues in Canada", it was stated in a section devoted to northern development:

"In the development of any region, there must be a close relationship between that development, the region's people and the resources. Perhaps more than in any other region, the environmental effects of resource management in Canada's north must be given careful attention. For thousands of years, wildlife and fish have supported the indigenous people and these resources can continue to be the basis for healthy communities which seek to maintain this lifestyle. However, misguided exploitation of minerals, petroleum and water have already caused damage and threatens to destroy the resource upon which existing communities depend.

During the past two or three

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1 years, we have become aware that our knowledge
2 of the north is inadequate, inadequate that is,
3 to formulate an integrated development plan for
4 that vast region of Canada. Crash programs to
5 collect badly needed information often after
6 development decisions have been made will neither
7 relieve the knowledge deficiency nor provide
8 strong foundations for a sound development policy.

9 The Science Council recommends
10 that operations and planning for resource
11 exploitation, transportation corridors and centers
12 of population in the north or the establishment
13 and use of effective mechanisms to provide protec-
14 tion where necessary. Sustained research support
15 for these aspects of northern studies which will
16 provide this understanding should be increased
17 substantially to offset the increasing pressure to
18 capitablize on short-term profits by immediate
19 exploitation."

20 In the report, this last recommendation is emphasized.

21 "This support should be in the form of funds,
22 personnel, transportation facilities and access to
23 both government and industry information."

24 The Economic Impact Committee
25 of the Task Force on Northern Oil Development on the
26 6th of October, 1972 presented to the Trudeau Government
27 a "Draft Report on the Evaluation of the Impact of a
28 Northern Canadian Gas Pipeline". This report was done
29 for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
30 Development, Northern Development Branch. With

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1 your permission I would like to read a few of the
2 highlights of this report. On page one it states:

3 "There appears to be little doubt that the large
4 gas reserves associated with the Alaska oil will
5 move to the American market via a Mackenzie
6 Valley Pipeline."

7 Page two:

8 "Most, if not all, of the natural gas transported
9 by the pipeline will be marketed in the U.S."

10 Page three:

11 "Only at very high levels of unemployed resources
12 will the full gross impact of pipeline construction
13 be achieved. At full employment, any increase in
14 net income will be negligible."

15 On page four:

16 "Even if there were massive unemployment the
17 greatest employment impact of the pipeline would
18 be 105,000 persons in each of four years. Any em-
19 ployment of pipeline construction will therefore --"

20 THE COMMISSIONER: What was
21 that again, 105 --

22 A 105,000 persons in each
23 of four years.

24 Q I've read that before
25 and I can't remember that. Well, carry on, O.K.

26 A I lifted it right out
27 of the report, sir, so it is there.

28 "Any employment of pipeline construction will
29 therefore be temporary only unless other projects
30 requiring similar labor skills were developed at

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1 the appropriate time construction, of the pipeline
2 could have a destabilizing effect on employment
3 trends in the economy. The increased demands for
4 investment funds could push up interest rates in
5 Canada, particularly if one of the conditions
6 imposed by government on the pipeline is majority
7 Canadian ownership.

8 Construction of the pipeline
9 will lead to at least localize inflationary pressures"

10 Page six:

11 "The ability to export for more labor intensive
12 industries could be therefore, adversely affected
13 by the operations of the pipeline."

14 Page twelve:

15 "The Federal Government will receive \$75 million
16 per year from the extraction and transportation of
17 northern gas. It is interesting to note that
18 over 2/3 of the revenue or \$50 million will be
19 derived from direct taxation of foreign income
20 earned in Canada rather than from taxation of the
21 extraction and transportation operations. Revenues
22 obtained (by the State of Alaska) will be far in
23 excess of anything the Canadian Government could
24 expect to receive from gas development in the
25 Canadian north under existing revenue provisions."

26 From page 12:

27 "A northern pipeline will not make a major long-
28 term contribution to the Canadian economy in terms
29 of employment or personal incomes. Furthermore,
30 it will be of specific benefit to the United States."

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1 Page 13:

2 "The construction and operation of a northern gas
3 pipeline, even if it were to carry a substantial
4 proportion of Canadian gas would likely prove to
5 be a mixed blessing to Canada...The cost of
6 construction activity includes some diversion of
7 economic activity from the Atlantic region."

8 From page 14:

9 "During the pipeline operations, the maximum
10 benefits to Canada would be additional Canadian
11 incomes of \$366 million a year, of which government
12 revenues would comprise of about \$75 million and
13 would end up with 150 to 200 permanent jobs."

14 In the appendix to the same report on page five it
15 states:

16 "It is reasonable to believe that even without
17 the pipeline, most of this \$366 million would have
18 been generated in a fully employed economy.... It
19 is worth noting that income tax revenues will
20 probably be negligible or even negative for the
21 first ten years of operation."

22 In the introduction to section
23 five, chapter one of "An Energy Policy for Canada",
24 phase one, volume one, it states:

25 "Over 91% of the assets in the oil and gas industr-
26 ies in Canada are under foreign control. All of
27 the integrated oil companies in Canada, those active
28 in oil exploration through production to refining
29 and marketing are foreign controlled...The degree
30 of foreign ownership of the Canadian petroleum

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1 industry was virtually unchanged during the 1960's
2 in terms of assets but foreign control of sales
3 and profits increased substantially. A small group
4 of foreign controlled companies now has virtually
5 complete control of petroleum marketing in Canada.
6 This has important implications with regard to
7 market shares and pricing policies."

8 A high proportion of the
9 capital invested has come from external sources to
10 Canada, mainly from the United States although
11 supplementary funds coming from the United Kingdom
12 and elsewhere are not insubstantial. There are dis-
13 advantages in the relatively low Canadian financial
14 participation in the oil and gas programs.

15 On the 6th of August, 1975,
16 the "Christian Science Monitor" published an article on
17 Canadian oil and gas, part of which reads:

18 "New finds of natural gas near the very top of
19 the world among the ice bound Canadian Arctic
20 Islands could help offset dwindling reserves in
21 the U.S. and Canada."

22 Provided that anticipated
23 gas reserves can be tapped and piped to homes and
24 factories, officials of the Bureau of Energy, presuma-
25 bly the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources,
26 say that 10.8% of total U.S. gas consumption could
27 come from Canada by 1985. Today the figure is 4.5%

28 "There might be phenomenal opportunity for in-
29 creased Canadian exports to the U.S. if the gas
30 can only be gotten here by pipeline or ship",

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1 says Robert Sands, spokesman for the Federal Energy
2 Administration (FEA) in Washington.

3 If the U.S. does not achieve
4 natural gas self-sufficiency with stepped-up offshore
5 drilling coupled with new discoveries from Alaska's
6 North Slope, it will be even more dependent on Canadian
7 imports, FEA officials say.

8 Fredric Ebdon, spokesman for
9 Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation which supplies
10 gas throughout Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York as
11 well as Texas says:

12 "We think there is great gas potential for southern
13 Canada and the U.S. in the high Arctic Islands."

14 Frank Arricle, spokesman for
15 the Boston Gas Company affirms:

16 "The Arctic Island gas situation holds great
17 promise for the U.S."

18 In "An Energy Policy for Canada,
19 volume one, 1973, the Geological Survey of Canada, in
20 comparison estimates of 1972 and 1973 indicate a
21 considerable reduction in the predicted oil potential
22 from Arctic Canada and the Northwest Territories; down
23 from 70.2 to 28.2 billion barrels. To some extent,
24 this is offset by an increase in the estimate for
25 eastern Canada from 41.8 to 50.5 billion barrels. The
26 Arctic, Northwest Territories and western Canada gas
27 potential estimates have decreased from 652.0 to 455.8
28 trillion cubic feet. Again, this is offset somewhat
29 by an increase from 254.1 to 327.1 trillion cubic
30 feet for eastern Canada.

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In a National energy report published in April of 1975, the Board reported; gas reserves in the Mackenzie Delta and the Beaufort Sea were very low. The Canadian Petroleum Association reported 4 trillion cubic feet proved and 4.8 trillion cubic feet probable reserves. 11.1 trillion cubic feet of threshold reserves would be required to cover the debt payments on the pipeline over 15 years, nearly 16 trillion cubic feet are needed for a twenty-year term.

The conclusions of the 1973 "Energy Policy for Canada" are: the long-term efficient use of all of Canada's resources and economic success in the maintenance of adequate environmental quality will require:

1. An effective program of land use in both undeveloped and developed areas.
2. A better understanding of environmental processes and ecological relationships in various parts of Canada.
3. A better understanding of demographic and social factors in Canada as they affect demand on energy.
4. Development of effective international environmental law.

In July of 1975, Professor Fred Knelman published a background study for the Science Council of Canada under the title "Energy Conservation", background study number 33. His conclusions were as follows:

"We have stated that through both supply and demand analysis Canada should seriously consider the

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1 adoption of a national energy conservation and
2 efficiency program. We have indicated that the
3 savings that may be expected are substantial, that
4 they may be achieved without any reduction of our
5 projected economic activity levels, but rather
6 through a decreased energy consumption achieved
7 through enhanced efficiencies. The net overall
8 national savings by 1995 is about 15% of that
9 year's energy consumption standard forecast.
10 Given a serious program of voluntary and mandatory
11 demand management, a saving of 30% should be
12 possible by 1995.

13 When one considers that more
14 than 50% of all the energy supply in Canada is
15 discarded as waste, the above saving becomes
16 even more significant. Furthermore, we have
17 indicated that the major saving in the short and
18 mid-term (6.8 and 11.1%) may be achieved through
19 known available measures both technical and social
20 and that the research and development necessary
21 for long-term savings should be easily realizable
22 within that span. We have also argued that the
23 major barriers to successful implementation of
24 those proposed conservation measures are social
25 rather than technical. This means that the public
26 in general must be consulted, informed, involved,
27 educated and thus committed to the energy conserva-
28 tion program. The burden and the initiative
29 for the development of such a commitment must be
30 assumed by the Federal Government as a decision to

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1 undertake this conservation and efficiency program
2 immediately.

3 We have finally argued that
4 such a conservation program is not in conflict
5 with economic goals or objectives and is neither
6 for nor against historical growth. We have gone
7 further and suggested that there are economic bene-
8 fits both direct and indirect in such a program.
9 Increased efficiencies mean lower production
10 costs, while reduced energy consumption reduces
11 environmental control costs and capital investment,
12 often foreign. Other analysts have gone further
13 and suggested that employment is negatively cor-
14 related with energy intensive production and that
15 conservation and reduced consumption could increase
16 employment, a major problem in this and other
17 economically developed countries. We cannot
18 seriously judge the merits of this argument but
19 believe that they must be seriously examined. In
20 fact, we have recommended that all of our tacit
21 assumptions concerning energy consumption be
22 critically re-examined in order to develop the best
23 national energy policy that allows adaptation as
24 options and conditions change, in other words, a
25 clear flexible energy policy."

26 In the "Montreal Gazette" of the
27 29th of July, 1975, in a report from Washington, it was
28 reported: "Design of the proposed Canada - U.S. Arctic
29 natural gas pipeline is inadequate, the U.S. Interior
30 Department said Monday."

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This study lists 18 faults in the pipeline design. The 18 design concepts which were criticized include unrealistic schedules, seismic monitoring temperature and pressure of the gas to be carried in the pipeline.

The Toronto "Globe and Mail" goes even further. It reports that the Washington study also criticizes proposals for seasonal maintenance, described as inadequate, the studies on the effects of leaking gas while a major part of the proposed line:

"does not go beyond the current state of the art of engineering".

The study puts into perspective criticisms that have been made of the proposal to bury it in permafrost and chill the throughput. This concept, while maintaining permafrost conditions creates problems such as frost heave and interferes with stream flow by developing an ice bulb around the line.

Most of the points raised in the study are negative.

"In a case like this they have to be", said an official of the Interior Department.

Citing the impact of noise, the study says it will be highly annoying to people in towns and farms during the construction period. Operating noises from compressor stations will be audible more than a mile away while periodic venting of high pressure gas would create a severe increase in sound levels.

Vegetation and terrain surfaces

T. Ford

will be totally destroyed along the pipeline ditch at camp and landing sites, towers, permanent roads and other operations.

Indiscriminate withdrawal of water from springs and lakes will have a severely adverse effect on fish and invertebrates while the release of large volumes of test water into dry stream channels would cause erosion and increased sediment.

Other facets of the impact of the line on the environment are:

• Compressor station turbine exhaust emissions of about 7,200 gallons of water vapor an hour at 600°F would effect the climate immediately adjacent to each station in the Arctic areas of the Yukon and Alaska.

• Wind erosion of disturbed soil and gully erosion following construction will change the topography and have a secondary effect of moving the soil to other locations.

• Disturbance and mixing of the soil will alter its structural characteristics preventing the complete restoration of sites and causing a permanent loss of soil productivity.

In spite of these warnings from both Canadian governmental advisers and their American counterparts, there are people in Washington who would like to see a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. This report comes from the "Montreal Star" on the 26th of April, 1974. Dateline Washington. "A high ranking United States State Department official gave strong support today to a proposal for a pipeline treaty with Canada."

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"Such a treaty might set out the rules of the game for pipelines carrying natural gas from the Arctic through Canada to the U.S. and Canadian markets."

said Julius Katz, deputy assistant secretary of state for international resources.

As for the Liberal Government here in Canada, until recently at least they have backed the proposed pipeline through thick and thin in spite of their advisers. In 1973 Prime Minister Trudeau in a Commons debate on petroleum policy cited enormous quantities of gas available to be transported from the far north. On the 10th of March 1971, Jean Chretien then Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development stated:

"We in Canada would welcome the building of such a pipeline through our country and would do everything that is reasonable to facilitate this particular development."

Again in 1972 the then Minister of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Honorable Donald MacDonald stated:

"You have to take the Mackenzie Valley oil and gas pipelines as a given element of energy policy," presumably Canada's energy policy.

Now it would appear that the Liberals are vacillating. In Hansard of the 30th April, 1976 Mr. Doug Neil of Moose Jaw asked:

"Mr. Speaker my question is for the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In view

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1 of the Minister's statement earlier this week to
2 the effect that it is questionable whether the
3 proposed pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley will be
4 proceeded with, can the honorable gentleman advise
5 whether or not this statement indicates that the
6 government now favors the proposal of Polar Gas
7 and Pan-Arctic Oils to build a pipeline from the
8 high Arctic and/or a Y-line concept?

9 The Honorable Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian Affairs
10 and Northern Development answered:

11 "Mr. Speaker, the suggestion did not point in that
12 direction. It merely indicated that as long as
13 the extractable resources in the north in the
14 delta area are only in the order of three trillion
15 cubic feet, there was some question that the pipe-
16 line might not be in Canada's best interests."

17 Only the large corporations
18 and the Liberal Government seem to want such a pipeline.
19 Unions, Indian and Inuit Brotherhoods, churches,
20 environmental groups and a large segment of the general
21 public are against such a project. Neither the
22 corporations involved nor the government seem to think
23 that we poor slobs can, given the true facts, decide
24 what is best for Canada. I am strongly opposed to
25 this project at the present time. I do not believe in
26 no development but I do believe in rational development,
27 development that benefits the peoples not just lines
28 the pockets of large corporations and politicians.

29 The Indian and Inuit people
30 have presented to you a strong case for settlement of

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1 their
/ land claims before any decision is made on ^{the} Mackenzie
2 Valley Pipeline. I would like to state my support for
3 their stand. Their land claims must be settled and
4 should have been settled long before this argument even
5 came up. I would hate to see a repeat of the James
6 Bay where the people of northern Quebec were forced
7 to negotiate with a loaded gun at their heads because
8 construction of the massive hydro-electric project had
9 already started. Traditionally, the native people of
10 this country have been shunted aside, particularly the
11 people of the north primarily because industry and
12 government felt that the north had nothing to offer.
13 Now however, they have found gold "in them thar hills"
14 and the rush is on and to hell with the Indians and
15 Inuit, just give them a few dollars and a pocket hand-
16 kerchief sized piece of land and they will shut up. We,
17 the people in the south, must not repeat the mistakes
18 of the past. This time, we must make sure that those
19 that are supposed to represent us treat fairly and
20 honorably with the original people of this land.

21 There is one more item that
22 I would like to mention. Because of the serious doubts
23 that numerous experts have on oil, gas and mineral
24 development north of 60° and meaning no disrespect to
25 this Commission, and in the light of various other
26 developments in Canada's north, I feel that the mandate
27 of this Commission is not broad enough. Any Commission
28 enquiring into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline must be
29 able to enquire into offshore drilling in the
30 Beaufort Sea as this is an intrinsic part of the proposal.

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1 I also feel that such northern projects as the proposed
2 Polar Gas and the Beaufort-Delta Oil Project Limited
3 and the TransArctic Pipelines Limited proposals should
4 be subjected to close and careful scrutiny in the
5 public forum.

6 Thank you sir.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
8 sir.

9 (WITNESS ASIDE)

10 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
11 we have two further briefs on our list for this
12 morning but I think we're past our adjournment time
13 and I'm going to ask Mr. Boucher and Mr. Chalouh of
14 the -- latter one of the Jewish Labor Committee, if
15 they could come back at 2 o'clock this afternoon and
16 we'll hear from them first.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Fine.

18 MR. WADDELL: Now, I don't
19 know if Mr. Roland has any comments by the participants.

20 MR. ROLAND: Sir, Mr. Eric
21 Gourdeau of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee has
22 indicated to me that he wishes to reply to evidence
23 heard this morning. Mr. Gourdeau?

E. Gourdeau

ERIC GOURDEAU: Monsieur

le Commissaire, je vais être très court. Je pensais avoir perdu mon tour, qu'on avait donné mon tour à un autre, mais puisque j'ai l'occasion de parler, je voudrais juste mentionner au nom CARC quelque chose qui touche les biens existants, à notre avis, entre les réclamations de droits territoriaux des autochtones dans le Nord et la réalisation du gazoduc projeté.

On a voulu, et on veut encore, je crois, dans différents milieux, séparer les deux et dire que les droits territoriaux sont une chose et que la construction d'un gazoduc est une autre chose, et que donc les deux pourraient être considérés séparément.

CARC, Canadian Arctic Resources Committee est un groupe de citoyens qui a été formé il y a au-delà de quatre (4) ans maintenant pour précisément regarder, sonner l'alerte au sujet du développement qui s'engageait dans le Grand Nord canadien.

C'est le groupe de personnes, une vingtaine de personnes qui, au début, sont, qui se sont groupés ensemble au début et voulaient constituer une troisième voie à côté de celle des compagnies et du Gouvernement, donc c'est un groupe qui inclut précisément des représentants

E. Gourdeau

1 des autochtones et encore aujourd'hui Canadian
2 Arctic Resources Committee a dans le Nord un scien-
3 tifique qui a succédé à un autre scientifique qui
4 était là depuis deux (2) ans et qui est tout simple-
5 ment au service des autochtones pour les éclairer
6 dans leurs différents problèmes, spécialement les
7 problèmes qu'ils rencontrent concernant le développe-
8 ment du Grand Nord.
9

10 Les droits territoriaux,
11 évidemment, peuvent exister, les droits aboriginaux
12 peuvent exister, même quand il n'y a pas de pipeline
13 de proposé, de gazoduc de proposé, mais en fait ce
14 que le gazoduc va faire, s'il est construit, c'est
15 qu'il va cristalliser le début du développement
16 industriel du Nord, il y a déjà dans le Nord certains
17 développements miniers, mais ce sont des développe-
18 ments qui sont plus isolés, qui sont plus clair-
19 semés, tandis qu'un pipeline, c'est quelque chose
20 qui va traverser toute une partie du territoire
21 depuis le nord jusqu'au sud du Grand Nord.
22

23 Alors, c'est quelque
24 chose qui cristallise le développement, et si ce
25 développement-là procède sans que la question des
26 droits territoriaux ait été réglée, c'est l'avis
27 de CARC que l'impact de ce pipeline, pas d'un autre,
28 mais ce pipeline, parce qu'il sera le premier,
29 cet impact-là sera négatif dans une très large
30

E. Gourdeau

mesure sur les gens.

Alors, tout ce que les compagnies prétendent qu'il y aura de positif du côté de l'emploi, du côté des nouvelles formes de participation à la citoyenneté canadienne deviendra, à notre avis, faux, si le règlement des terres n'est pas intervenu d'abord.

En somme, si on commence, si on cristallise le développement, si on l'engage pour de bon sans avoir réglé les droits territoriaux à la satisfaction des gens, ce qu'on fait, c'est qu'on les ignore, on ne reconnaît pas leurs droits, éventuellement on pourrait leur donner des choses, comme on dit dans les textes, qui sont présentés:

" To be granted with something."

Ce n'est pas ça dont il est question pour les gens, ils occupent un territoire depuis des millénaires, il n'est pas question qu'on leur donne quelque chose, il est question qu'on leur reconnaisse quelque chose, alors qu'on les reconnaisse comme ayant des droits particuliers, qu'on règle avec eux ces droits-là avant que ne se cristallise le début du développement industriel.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

(WITNESS ASIDE)

1 Me ROLAND: Comme je l'ai
2 indiqué ce matin, monsieur le Commissaire, nos
3 règlements donnent à chacune des compagnies de pipe-
4 line de même qu'aux principaux participants, le
5 droit de répliquer aux mémoires présentés ce matin
6 pour une durée qui ne dépasse pas dix (10) minutes.
7

8 That concludes our morning
9 session. I suggest we adjourn until 2 P.M. this
10 afternoon.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
12 2 P.M.

13 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well ladies and gentlemen, I'll call our hearing to order this afternoon.

As you know, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry is holding hearings in the main centers of southern Canada to give you an opportunity of expressing your views on the future of Canada's northland.

The two pipeline companies propose to build a -- they are competing for the right to build a pipeline that would bring gas from the Canadian Arctic to markets in southern Canada and the United States. This project would be the most expensive ever undertaken by private enterprise anywhere in the world but the Government of Canada has said that we are to proceed in the assumption that if this gas pipeline project, vast as it is, goes ahead, we are to proceed on the assumption that an oil pipeline bringing oil from the Arctic to the south will follow it along the Mackenzie Valley. So, we are examining and energy corridor from the Arctic to the mid-continent.

This Inquiry has the job of considering what the impact will be if we go ahead with the pipeline and energy corridor; social, environmental and economic impact. We have spent 14 months in northern Canada considering the evidence of experts in the formal hearings we've held at Yellowknife and we've been to 28 cities and towns, villages, settlements and outposts in the Northwest

1 * LE PRESIDENT: Nous nous
2 croyons un peuple nordique, alors l'avenir du Nord
3 devrait nous concerner.

4 En fait, c'est notre appétit
5 pour le pétrole et le gaz ainsi que notre façon de
6 consommer nos ressources naturelles qui ont occasion-
7 né les demandes d'extraction du gaz et du pétrole
8 dans l'Arctique.
9

10 A mon avis, ce qui va se
11 dérouler dans le Nord est d'une importance primor-
12 diale et nous en serons responsables tous et chacun.

13 C'est pourquoi nous sommes
14 ici, pour vous écouter.
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1 Territories and the Yukon to listen to the views of the
2 people who live there; people of all races, white,
3 Indian, Metis and Inuit. We've heard from those
4 people in their own languages, in English, French,
5 Loucheux, Dogrib, Slavey, Chipewyan and Inuktitut.
6 We are now spending a month here in southern Canada to
7 give you an opportunity of expressing your views on
8 these questions of fundamental national policy. *

9 It's my job, the job of this
10 Inquiry, to gather the evidence, find the facts and
11 to report to the Government of Canada to enable the
12 Government of Canada to make an informed judgment.
13 It's the job of the National Energy Board to consider
14 the question of how much gas is there in the Mackenzie
15 Delta and the Beaufort Sea? What are Canada's own
16 requirements? How much do we need to fuel our homes
17 and factories in southern Canada? Can we afford to
18 export any to the United States?

19 So that my report will deal
20 with the impact on the Canadian north. The Energy
21 Board's report will deal gas supply and gas requirements
22 and the Government of Canada, the people elected to
23 make these decisions about questions of national
24 policy, will have to make the decision.

25 I will ask Mr. Roland to
26 outline our procedure this afternoon.

27 MR. ROLAND: Yes sir. As I
28 indicated this morning, at the beginning of the hearings
29 this morning, there is not any cross-examination in
30 these hearings in the south. In lieu of cross-examination

1 the two pipeline applicants and the major participants
2 are given an opportunity at the end of the session
3 to respond to submissions heard this afternoon and they
4 are permitted to respond for a maximum of ten minutes.

5 With that short introduction,
6 I would call on Mr. Waddell to introduce the first
7 witness.

J. Boucher

1 Me WADDELL: Nous avons
2 trois interventions qui restent de ce matin, la
3 première monsieur Jacques Boucher.

4 JACQUES BOUCHER, assermenté:

5 Je suis -- j'étais autre-
6 fois du Comité pour la défense de la Baie James
7 et puis le comité a été intégré à la société pour
8 vaincre la pollution, et puis il s'appelle maintenant
9 Comité Energie-Environnement de la Société pour
10 vaincre la pollution.

12 Le développement du Nord
13 canadien: à quel prix?

14 C'est sous ce titre que
15 la Conférence catholique Canadienne a choisi
16 l'automne dernier denous livrer son "Message" pour
17 la "Fête du Travail".

19 On y développait toute une
20 réflexion, on y posait toute une série de questions,
21 qui, sans doute, ont également été soulevées -- et
22 même peut-être plusieurs fois -- à l'occasion des
23 audiences publiques de votre Commission.

25 Et pourtant, selon le point
26 de vue et la perspective dans lesquelles a été
27 acheminé notre groupement, il nous fait y revenir à
28 notre façon, puisque notre expérience dans ce domaine
29 a été tout particulièrement exercée par l'ampleur
30 de la ruée vers l'énergie que connaît cette partie-ci

J. Boucher

1 du continent.

2 Mais, en premier lieu,
3 je m'en voudrais de ne pas souligner la lueur d'es-
4 poir que constitue pour le simple citoyen une enquête
5 comme la vôtre, après que nous ayons été les témoins,
6 pratiquement impuissants, de l'unilatéralisme avec
7 lequel d'autres projets ont été élaborés et exécutés
8 dans notre province et dans notre pays.
9

10 Il nous a fallu beaucoup de
11 temps avant que la voix de personnes vraiment
12 conscientisées réussisse à nous avertir de l'aberra-
13 tion que constituait le développement de l'électro-
14 nucléaire avec son cortège de problèmes non résolus,
15 comme la gestion à long terme des déchets radioactifs,
16 la prolifération des armes nucléaires encouragée
17 par les ventes de réacteurs à l'étranger, la sûreté
18 des multiples convois radioactifs, l'horreur que
19 constituerait l'avènement d'une catastrophe d'origine
20 naturelle, humaine ou technique, etc., etc.
21

22 Et pourtant, nous avons déjà
23 plusieurs centrales nucléaires qui fonctionnent en
24 Ontario, une deuxième à Gentilly et même un petit
25 réacteur à l'Université de Montréal et une autre
26 à Point Lepreau, au Nouveau-Brunswick.
27

28 Comment a-t-on pu songer à
29 entreprendre pareil développement avant d'avoir
30 discuté avec la population qui risque d'en payer

J. Boucher

1 les frais, l'ensemble des problèmes posés par la
2 demande énergétique, les possibilités de la limiter
3 ou de la rationaliser et les différentes façons d'y
4 pourvoir, avec une claire, complète et honnête exposi-
5 tion des avantages et désavantages, tant économiques,
6 écologiques, sécuritaires, sociaux que politiques
7 de chacune?
8

9 Et, je ne veux pas par là
10 jeter la pierre à ceux qui ont conçu, élaboré, cons-
11 truit ces machines qui, aujourd'hui, prennent pour
12 nous l'aspect de véritables fléaux.

13 C'est qu'à l'époque, la
14 sensibilité aux problèmes de l'environnement,
15 aux conséquences socio-économico-politiques n'était
16 sans doute pas suffisamment éveillés chez suffisam-
17 ment de gens.
18

19 Je me souviens avec beaucoup
20 d'acuité que, moi-même, tout au long des années
21 soixante ('60), étudiant de collège et puis d'universi-
22 té, j'étais un chaud partisan du développement
23 technico-urbano-industriel du Québec, un ardent
24 révolutionnaire de la fameuse révolution tranquille
25 québécoise, qui tendait par toutes les ressources
26 de la civilisation nord-américaine et occidentale à
27 nous faire agenouiller devant les dieux du progrès
28 technique, de la science établie, de l'industrie, de
29 la finance, du commerce et de l'urbanisation.
30

J. Boucher

Eh bien! depuis les années mil neuf cent soixante-dix (1970), on commence un peu mieux à réaliser où nous mène ce culte envers les divinités qui aveuglément mutilent et asservissent ceux qui vivent sous leur empire, sans parler de ceux qui sont tués et emprisonnés dans les colonies et les néo-colonies, nous connaissons tous les problèmes de la faim, de la répression et de la guerre énergétique dans le monde.

C'est sans doute cette ruée vers la révolution tranquille qui nous a valu la construction du complexe hydroélectrique de Manic-Outardes, puis, par mimétisme, celui de la Baie James.

Et, il serait inutile ici de venir élaborer trop longtemps sur la façon que les décisions ont été prises, sur le sérieux dont a fait preuve la Cour d'Appel du Québec, quant elle a renversé en deux jours seulement l'injonction interlocutoire issue de recherches et d'études ayant été effectuées pendant plus d'un (1) an, par le Juge Albert Malouf de la Cour Supérieure du Québec, et qui mettait un terme aux travaux de construction du projet jusqu'à ce que des études sérieuses puissent en venir à montrer comment un projet semblable ou modifié pourrait être construit sans causer préjudice aux autochtones de la région.

Et n'oublions pas les pres-

J. Boucher

sions et les menaces de se voir couper l'assistance financière dont ont été victimes les autochtones, ce qui les a conduits, entre autres, à être progressivement acculés à la signature de l'entente avec le Gouvernement du Québec.

Or, il y a quelques semaines seulement, la Société de Développement de la Baie James, la Société d'Energie de la Baie James et Environnement-Canada nous organisaient un symposium sur l'environnement à la Baie James.

On nous y étalait les forts intéressants inventaires de la flore et de la faune, réalisés par leurs spécialistes.

Mais, on nous y soulignait également, si nous en faisons la demande, que les réservoirs devant découler de la construction des barrages auraient sans doute un effet sur cette écologie, mais, que ce ne serait sans doute pas si terrible que nous pourrions nous l'imaginer, même s'il n'y a qu'un moyen d'en être sûr, et que c'est d'attendre et de constater de visu, une fois que les réservoirs se seront formés.

A l'heure actuelle, en même temps que se tiennent vos audiences publiques, il se tient également d'autres audiences publiques de l'Office National de l'Energie, au Holiday Inn de Longueuil, juste de l'autre côté du pont Jacques-

J. Boucher

1 Cartier, pour étudier la demande d'exportation
 2 d'électricité vers les Etats-Unis qu'a présentée
 3 l'Hydro-Québec.

4 On nous dira que cette élec-
 5 tricité doit servir à satisfaire aux besoins énergé-
 6 tiques de pointe des clients, alors que les four-
 7 nisseurs auraient des surplus.

9 Soit! Mais, que dire des
 10 exportations déguisées, alors que l'Hydro-Québec
 11 prodigue des taux préférentiels aux grosses compagnies
 12 américaines et aux usines qui consomment le plus
 13 d'électricité pour transformer des produits qui
 14 nous seront vendus à leur profit, ou qui seront ache-
 15 minés à l'étranger, encore à leur profit.

17 Et que dire de la publicité
 18 pour le tout-électrique, que l'électricité protège
 19 l'environnement et que nous sommes hydro-québécois,
 20 et le reste?

21 Et, que' penser de ce projet de
 22 construire une usine d'uranium enrichi, à la Baie
 23 James ou ailleurs, qui ressort de temps à autre dans
 24 les média; et de ces projets de construction
 25 d'autres centrales nucléaires le long du Saint-Laurent
 26 et de la toute récente relance du projet de construire
 27 huit (8) autres barrages sur le complexe Nottaway-
 28 Broadback-Rupert à la Baie James, et encore d'autres
 29 barrages sur les rivières coulant vers la Baie
 30

J. Boucher

d'Hudson?

Il y a sûrement quelque chose qui "grenouille, gargouille et scribouille" quelque part là-dedans!

Et on se souviendra que ce sont là les termes employés par le Général DeGaulle lors de son fameux discours au balcon de l'hôtel-de-ville de Montréal.

Une chose est certaine, cependant, c'est que les techniciens que nous avons voulu avec la réforme de l'éducation au Québec, eh bien! maintenant, nous les avons, et nous ne pouvons pas trop leur en vouloir de se trouver de quoi technicaliser comme on leur a appris à le faire.

D'ailleurs, ces problèmes d'agression énergétique ne se limitent pas à l'est du Canada.

Il y a l'énorme complexe hydro-électrique des rivières Nelson, Churchill et du South Indian Lake, au nord du Manitoba et de la Saskatchewan, il y a les sables bitumineux de l'Athabaska en Alberta, il y a eu le barrage Bennett en Colombie Britannique.

Oui, vraiment, cette Commission d'enquête sur la vallée du Mackenzie, c'est sans contredit quelque chose de nouveau!

Ca aurait tout avantage à se répandre un peu plus!

J. Boucher

1 Et pourtant, malgré tout ce qu
2 peut porter à contestation, nous devons souligner que
3 la situation pourrait être encore pire qu'elle se pré-
4 sente, ligne générale, à notre pays.

5 En effet, qui n'a pas eu vent
6 de ce que l'on dit se passer en certains pays où toute
7 contestation du caractère nocif des projets des
8 bureaucrates, technocrates et gouvernement est
9 gratifiée d'internement dans des institutions psychia-
10 triques?
11

12 Avec votre Commission, Dieu
13 merci et Dieu les en délivre, tout en nous en préser-
14 vant! Nous sommes encore loin de cette honteuse situa-
15 tion, même si certains bureaucrates, technocrates
16 et dirigeants d'entreprises d'ici ont cru bon de
17 tout décider eux-mêmes, selon un procédé que l'on
18 peut malheureusement qualifier de dictatorial.

19 Et encore là, nous en
20 voulions des ministères pour nous offrir des services
21 publics, il nous en fallait des fonctionnaires et
22 des technocrates et des industriels, pour nous offrir
23 des emplois à la ville, où nous voulions nous rassem-
24 bler pour avoir plus de services et fuir les aléas de
25 mère nature, qui décide tout elle-même, sans consulter
26 qui que ce soit.
27
28

29 Il est bien difficile de blâ-
30 mer quelqu'un en particulier, ça a été un mouvement pas

J. Boucher

mal général d'un bout à l'autre du pays et de
l'Amérique du Nord.

Ca fait déjà quelques décennies
que nous avons entrepris de vivre le même niveau de
vie que nos voisins du Sud. C'était bien commode
d'être si proche et de pouvoir profiter de tellement
de commodités à bon marché.

Ah! mais voilà! pour pouvoir
continuer ce genre de vie, nos voisins du Sud n'ont
plus ce qu'il leur faut.

Toutes les possibilités
s'épuisent après que leur territoire ait été agressé
pendant si longtemps. Il leur a sans doute paru
sur le coup que l'issue la plus commode serait de
dépasser leurs frontières et de venir puiser chez le
bon vieil ami canadien, qui se doit maintenant de
faire sa part.

Nous avons tellement d'eau,
tellement de pétrole, tellement de gaz, tellement de
potentiel électrique, tellement de bois, tellement
de minerais, tellement d'uranium surtout, tellement de
terrains à bon marché, et je dois sûrement en passer.

Et il est pénible désormais d'être
confrontés avec des cartes de l'Amérique du Nord où
l'on voit une pléiade de flèches serpentant du Nord
du Canada vers la pointe qui s'approche du sud des
Etats-Unis.

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retrouve ces honteuses réserves, véritables ghettos
concentrationnaires, beaucoup trop exigus pour que
les populations autochtones puissent y survivre
décemment.

N'est-ce pas au Canada qu'on les a poussés à céder des territoires avec lesquels ils vivaient en harmonie depuis des millénaires contre quelques éphémères pécules?

Je me souviendrai toujours de cette visite que j'ai faite dans la vallée du Mont Currie, en Colombie Britannique, chez un des correspondants du comité pour la défense de la Baie James. Cet autochtone, vivant dans la réserve locale, nous a alors fait faire le tour de la vallée et nous a montré l'ancienne terre de son père, où, comme il nous l'a expliqué, un blanc s'était installé depuis quelques années, depuis qu'on avait forcé les indiens à se regrouper dans la réserve.

C'est bien au Canada, et même

J. Boucher

au Québec, que l'on force les jeunes autochtones à s'expatrier chaque année vers des pensionnats d'enseignement dans les villes du sud, de façon à les couper de leurs origines, de leur mode de vie ancestral, de la connaissance qu'ont leurs parents de tout ce qui concerne la nature, patrie où ils ont toujours su s'adapter.

Il y a également à considérer le fait qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un gazoduc dans le cas de la vallée du Mackenzie.

Une fois le précédent du gazoduc accepté, il y a déjà des projets d'oléoducs, de chemins de fer, de ligne de transmission électrique et quoi encore!

Tout cela risque, à une telle échelle, d'avoir des effets sur l'ensemble de la planète.

Ce sont là des territoires que l'on peut considérer comme encore pratiquement intouchés.

Il n'en reste que très peu tout autour du globe. C'est dans ces endroits d'ailleurs que l'air que les habitants de la planète respirent se refait tant bien que mal des affronts qu'on lui fait un peu partout dans le monde.

Le développement du Nord canadien: A quel prix?

J. Boucher

Le Nord canadien n'a pas de prix, le Nord canadien est sacré, les autochtones le savent bien eux, toute terre, tout territoire est sacré, même ceux qu'occupent les hommes que l'on dit civilisés.

Mais, ces derniers n'ont pas l'air de le savoir ou l'ont peut-être oublié.

Ils s'imaginent que tout peut être pillé, saccagé, bouleversé pour leur profit immédiat, en laissant les questions concernant les conséquences aux générations à venir: s'il y a des dégâts à réparer, les enfants le verront bien. Ce sera alors à eux d'y voir.

J'aimerais terminer en allant dans le sens des appels du Premier ministre du Canada, qui exhorte à la conversation, à la réduction des besoins, à une société plus juste, mais aussi en reprenant les termes de monsieur Pierre Parodi, qui, médecin dans un petit village d'une région défavorisée du Maroc, a écrit, en mil neuf cent soixante et onze (1971), un petit fascicule intitulé: "Efficacité des moyens pauvres dans l'aide au Tiers-Monde".

Dans la préface à la deuxième édition, il nous dit:

" Face à ces dangers qui, d'ici trente (30) ou cinquante ans (50) mettront en péril la vie de

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centaines de millions
d'hommes et la création elle-
même, que faisons-nous?
Comprenons bien qu'il ne s'a-
git pas de petits aménagements
à faire, de réformes de structu-
res, d'aide accrue aux pays
pauvres ou de l'application
d'une doctrine sociale, qui
permettrait simplement d'être
plus nombreux à partager une
vie de fous.

Il s'agit d'un changement
complet et radical de vie, de
notre vie, d'un retournement,
d'une autre civilisation.
Abandon de nos privilèges,
refus de la puissance et
de l'autoritarisme, simplifica-
tion de la vie, effort vrai et
non en amateur vers le travail
des mains, reconsidération de
nos rapports avec la créa-
tion, et cela non pas par cha-
rité ou grande vertu, mais par
simple justice et nécessité
pour survivre.

J. Boucher

Ce retournement, nous pouvons nous y efforcer volontairement et dans la joie, à la façon des premiers chrétiens et de Ghandi.... nous pourrions y être invités plus énergiquement par quelque Mao, et au prix sans doute de quelle perte de liberté... nous pourrions y être forcés par des catastrophes, mais après quels dégâts et quelles souffrances! A nous de choisir.

Si nous sommes découragés par l'entreprise, groupons-nous avec ceux qui veulent aller dans le même sens. Recherchons aussi le lien avec les hommes du tiers-monde. Nos difficultés sont complémentaires et sont les deux formes d'une même maladie. Ils nous aident à apprécier une vie plus simple et plus belle et nous pouvons les aider dans leurs travaux. Vivant nous-mêmes depuis cinq (5) ans dans une région pau-

J. Boucher

vre du Maroc, nous pouvons
témoigner de la réalité de
cette entraide et du bénéfice
que chacun en tire." (Fin de

la citation). Merci, monsieur le Président.

LE COMMISSAIRE: Merci.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

(WITNESS ASIDE)

E. Chalouh

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8 MR. WADDELL: Sir, the next
9 presentation is by Mr. Chalouh of the Jewish Labor
10 Committee.

11 E. CHALOUH, sworn;

12 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
13 the Jewish Labor Committee of Canada, founded in the mid-
14 '30s during the rise of Hitler in Europe, has since
15 its inception campaigned in the defense of human rights
16 and for the promotion of the dignity of man.

17 It must be mentioned that
18 throughout its history, the Committee has always had
19 the strong and vital support of both the trade union
20 movement and the Jewish community.

21 For more than a quarter of a
22 century, the Jewish Labor Committee has worked with the
23 labor movement in Canada to help secure protection of
24 the fundamental rights and freedoms Canadians now enjoy.

25 What interest does an organiza-
26 tion with a constituency in southern Canada have in a
27 pipeline planned in so remote a location as the Mackenzie
28 Valley? Ours is not an interest by conventional terms,
29 but rather a sensitivity; a sensitivity for the social
30 upheaval and environmental damage we fear will invariably

E. Chalouh

1 ensure if any of the present proposals for a pipeline
2 is accepted.

3 Our apprehension about the
4 pipeline must not be interpreted as opposition to
5 development. The native organizations themselves have
6 made it quite clear that they accept the inevitability
7 of development. What must be resolved is who is to
8 control the future development in the north and at what
9 pace and in which direction.

10 We find it appropriate that
11 this Commission of Inquiry has come to Montreal, the
12 heart of French Canada and the center of the struggle
13 of French Canadians to preserve their own identity.

14 The concern of the native
15 peoples of the Northwest Territories to maintain their
16 own lifestyle and culture is not unlike the aspirations
17 of French Canadians to maintain a French Quebec nor is
18 it unlike the ongoing struggle of the Jewish people for
19 recognition and survival as a people.

20 Today many native organizations
21 are preparing or have prepared land claims for negotia-
22 tion with the Federal Government. While an equitable
23 land settlement is crucial if the native peoples are
24 to have chance to maintain their identity, an alleged
25 energy crisis in the south has intervened and now
26 threatens to prejudice their cases.

27 Is it morally right for the
28 native population which has lived in harmony with the
29 land for thousands of years to bear the brunt of the
30 white man's folly, his lack of foresight and his

E. Chalouh

1 overconsumption of our precious natural resources?

2 The Jewish Labor Committee
3 firmly believes that before any final decision on a
4 pipeline or any other development project is made, the
5 Government of Canada must negotiate a just and
6 equitable land settlement with the Dene and the Inuit.
7 Such a settlement we believe must consist of the
8 recognition and not the extinction of the native peoples'
9 aboriginal rights and title.

10 There are some that say that
11 construction of a pipeline across so vast an area as
12 the Northwest Territories will have about as much effect
13 on the environment as laying a piece of string across
14 a football field. Of course, nothing could be further
15 from the truth. The construction of a gas pipeline
16 without a satisfactory land settlement will undoubtedly
17 open up a Pandora's box of development.

18 If the impact of such
19 development on the physical environment is still
20 uncertain, there is no uncertainty about the social
21 effects. The whole history of industrialization and
22 urban development in Canada in relation to the native
23 population provides ample evidence of what we can
24 expect in the north; social dislocation, alcoholism,
25 and the destruction of native pride and identity as a
26 people.

27 Mr. Commissioner, it is time
28 for a change. Future development in the Northwest
29 Territories must be determined by the people who have
30 inhabited the land from time immemorial and who continue

E. Chalouh

1 to live there despite the allurements of greater
2 opportunity and comfort in the south.

3 The Dene and the Inuit
4 peoples must be the final arbiters of what the future
5 of the north shall be, not only because they have never
6 surrendered their claim to the land but also because of
7 their manifest love and true appreciation for its value.
8 If the people of Canada are looking for custodians
9 to ensure that development of the north does not
10 encroach upon the environment nor produce any social
11 upheaval, we believe they will find none better than
12 the original inhabitants themselves, the Dene and the
13 Inuit.

14 In conclusion, Mr. Commissioner,
15 we reiterate our position that the present proposals
16 for a pipeline must be rejected or at least delayed
17 until a just and equitable land settlement with the
18 native population is negotiated.

19 Thank you.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
21 sir.

22 (WITNESS ASIDE)

23 MR. WADDELL: Is Andre Bouvet
24 here? I have a phone message for him if he'd come and
25 get it. Andre Bouvet ?

26 Mr. Commissioner, the next
27 brief I'm going to call upon Chief Billy Diamond of
28 the Grand Council of the Crees in Quebec. Chief
29 Diamond?

30 CHIEF BILLY DIAMOND, sworn;

Chief B. Diamond

1 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
2 ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Cree people in
3 the James Bay territory and the Grand Council of the
4 Crees of Quebec, I wish to extend my appreciation for
5 the permission to speak before this Inquiry.

6 The question of land development
7 came into being long before the James Bay hydro-electric
8 project. However, because the James Bay hydro-electric
9 project was such a massive undertaking by the Province
10 of Quebec and its Crown Corporations, the issue of
11 native land claims became more apparent during the
12 public opposition to this project. The 6,260 Crees
13 were very much opposed to this project because the
14 development had not taken into consideration the
15 livelihood of the people. The development had not
16 taken into consideration the land of the Cree people
17 and the development had not taken into consideration
18 the rights of the Cree people.

19 Other Indian leaders and
20 other native spokesmen in Canada have stressed that
21 there should be identification of aboriginal rights.
22 To the Cree people, this was not necessary because
23 the Cree Indians of James Bay and the Mistassini area
24 knew their aboriginal rights. It was the governments
25 and the corporations that undertook this project that
26 did not know these aboriginal rights. The education
27 of aboriginal rights to the non-native people in
28 Canada can only be done by formal talks in good faith.
29 The Cree people reached this objective and that is why
30 we have a James Bay Agreement today and not tomorrow.

Chief B. Diamond

1 The agreement came into
2 being by straightforward talks and by all the parties
3 making known their intentions. Leadership among our
4 people developed where our leaders realized the
5 political realities and negotiations developed where our
6 negotiators learned to compromise and meet and come to
7 a negotiated settlement. Above all, all our people
8 were consulted. There were countless number of band
9 meetings in our territory and many more committee
10 meetings.

11 It was a decision taken
12 unanimously by our people. A moment of great decision
13 had to come and it was wise of our people to make this
14 decision to accept the James Bay Agreement. You must
15 also realize that the Cree people of James Bay could
16 have decided against the James Bay Agreement. If that
17 would have happened, then where would we be today?
18 We would be in the Courts or perhaps we would be faced
19 with a legislative agreement.

20 The issue for the Cree people
21 was stated as early as 1967 during the revision and
22 consultation talks about the Indian Act. The issues
23 were land, recognition to rights to hunting, fishing
24 and trapping, control and participation of development
25 in Indian territory. Because the Cree people
26 reached an agreement with the Governments of Canada
27 and Quebec, there will be changes to their society
28 but you must also recognize that the Cree people have
29 enforced their position in the non-native society. The
30 changes will be made by the Crees because they are an

Chief B. Diamond

1 adaptable and adjustable people. The Crees only adapt
2 and adjust for the better. The James Bay Agreement
3 gives the Crees that opportunity. The Cree people
4 have opened a new era of better relationships between
5 the Crees and the non-natives in the Province of
6 Quebec. The Crees opened the door for other Indians
7 in Quebec and Canada. It is the decision of other
8 Indians to go into that door. The James Bay Agreement
9 does not necessarily have to become the precedent
10 settlement.

11 We sincerely believe that
12 the Crees have enforced and developed their culture
13 and now being an Indian has more meaning to the Cree
14 people. The Cree people have enforced their identity
15 as Indian people. You could argue that the Indian Act
16 gives us Indians special status but I further argue
17 that the James Bay Agreement gives the Cree people of
18 James Bay much more special status than the Indian Act.
19 I further state that the James Bay Crees have put
20 themselves into an autonomous and independent position
21 not only to face the Governments of Canada and Quebec,
22 but also to face the society which they will have to
23 participate in, not as spectators but participants and
24 decision-makers of their future. This agreement deals
25 with all areas in the future of our people. That future
26 was decided by the Cree people themselves.

27 I argue that the Govern-
28 ments of Canada and Quebec did not put the Crees to
29 the wall to sign an agreement nor did they put the Crees
30 in such a position where they will have to accept an

Chief B. Diamond

1 agreement of this type. My people chose to face the
2 issue of development in their territory. My people
3 accepted the reality of development. We accepted and
4 put our trust into the proposals submitted by the
5 governments and the Crees during negotiations. It was
6 in this trust that we were able to obtain an agreement.

7
8 One of the reasons why we
9 were able to obtain an agreement was because the
10 Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec is a government
11 at the grass roots level. The leaders, the negotiators,
12 and all people that were involved in negotiations with
13 the exception of our legal counsel and consultants were
14 people that were born in the communities. Their fathers
15 and brothers were trappers, hunters and fishermen.
16 Their fathers were councillors and chiefs and further-
17 more, their mother is that land where they were born.

18 They were people that were
19 educated and took what was available from them from the
20 non-native society but they took that experience and
21 used it for the benefit of their people. The Grand
22 Council of the Crees was mandated by the 6,260 Crees
23 on several occasions to take over the negotiations and
24 to get a just settlement for the recognition and
25 confirmation of Cree rights in the James Bay territory.

26 ON several occasions the
27 Cree Bands endorsed the actions of the Grand Council
28 of the Crees of Quebec. For example, the Crees signed
29 a power of attorney when the agreement in principle
30 was reached on November 1st, 1974 and furthermore, when
it was necessary to sign a final agreement, the Crees

Chief B. Diamond

1 again gave a power of attorney to their chiefs and
2 councillors to sign that final agreement.

3 Yet on another occasion, the
4 Crees ratified the James Bay Agreement by a vote of
5 922 in favor and one against. The most important point
6 you have to remember is that the agreement was negotiat-
7 ed by leaders selected by the Cree bands and the decision
8 to accept the agreement was taken by the Cree people
9 most directly affected by the project.

10 The people to benefit as a
11 result of the agreement is the trapper, the hunter and
12 the fisherman. The people who make their livelihood
13 from the forests and rivers and lakes will benefit
14 from this agreement. Yes, the Cree people will benefit
15 from the agreement, not the lawyers as argued by
16 other Indians in Canada.

17 The whole objective of the
18 agreement is to save a culture and a society. This
19 was accomplished in the James Bay area. Furthermore,
20 it gives a choice for our people in which society they
21 wish to participate in. If our people wish to partici-
22 pate in the traditional society, they can do so and
23 they can benefit from this agreement. If our people
24 wish to participate in the modern industrial society,
25 if it is their wish, they can choose that path. This
26 is made available in the agreement. Furthermore,
27 if our people wish to take part in both societies,
28 it is also made available in the agreement.

29 The Crees, for the first
30 time, will have their rights recognized and there will

Chief B. Diamond

1 be powers in which the Crees can take to see that their
2 rights are respected. May I add that the Crees will be-
3 come the first native group to have rights recognized
4 in Quebec. Many of our people, not only/Quebec but
5 across Canada accuse us of giving away our rights,
6 our Indian rights, of giving away our aboriginal rights.
7 The agreement recognizes aboriginal rights. The agree-
8 ment puts the Cree people in a position where they
9 will become masters of their own destiny, where they
10 will become independent, a lot more independent than
11 any other native group in Canada.

12 The Crees realized and knew
13 their aboriginal rights but we as Indian people, can
14 say for so long that "we have rights". For the past
15 100 years, since Confederation, we have said that we
16 have rights. Are we and did you expect my people, the
17 Cree people of James Bay to continue saying that?
18 They were frustrated, hostile, impatient but when the
19 opportunity arose, they grabbed it and they will not
20 let go and they intend not to let go. They know now
21 how much their rights mean to them and that is why we
22 signed the agreement. Everyone says the agreement has
23 been signed, the first comprehensive land settlement
24 agreement in Canada and Quebec has been signed. Every-
25 one says the Indians have sold their land, the Crees have
26 sold their land. The Crees have given up their aborigin-
27 al rights. Believe me, the agreement is not an end to
28 other negotiations in James Bay.

29 The James Bay Agreement calls
30 for the continued dialogue between the Cree Indians of

Chief B. Diamond

1 Quebec and the Governments of Canada and Quebec. There
2 are sections in the agreement which call for continued
3 negotiations. There are sections in the agreement which
4 state that a particular section can be changed if the
5 parties that have signed the agreement consent.

6 The issue in James Bay about
7 Cree Indian rights and land development is not quite
8 settled yet. However, the most important decision
9 has been taken by the Cree people themselves. It is
10 quite obvious that if there had been no unity among
11 my people, this could have never been accomplished.
12 There was unity in James Bay. That is why the James
13 Bay Agreement is a reality today.

14 We signed the agreement seven
15 months ago but yet during our continued negotiations
16 and our implementation program, we continue to encounter
17 difficulties with the Governments of Canada and Quebec.
18 We wanted our rights and the agreement to be put into
19 law. We wanted the James Bay Agreement to be legislat-
20 ed. When that happens, then you can say that there
21 has been a James Bay settlement. That is not yet the
22 case. We, during our negotiations with the Governments
23 of Canada and Quebec, built a trust by negotiating
24 in good faith. That trust must not be misused. The
25 Crees will certainly not misuse that trust.

26 However, if we do not have
27 legislation to the James Bay Agreement, then that trust
28 has been misused and then the Crees can claim that the
29 agreement is breached. The Crees can charge that there
30 has been violation in the agreement.

Chief B. Diamond

Mr. Justice Berger, I wish to thank you on behalf of the 6, 260 Crees and the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec for giving me this permission to present the Cree views and also I wish to extend my appreciation of my fellow chiefs and leaders and negotiators for the spirit, faith and determination that they have sought for a just settlement in James Bay.

Thank you, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
chief.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
the next brief is from the Federation of Scouts of
Quebec to be given by Monsier Jean-Marie Beauregard.

J.M. Beauregard

JEAN-MARIE BEAUREGARD. asser-

menté: Alors, monsieur le Commissaire, disons que j'ai en fait deux courtes communications à présenter, là, parce qu'on m'a demandé, la Fédération des Scouts du Québec m'a demandé de présenter le mémoire qui a été écrit par son commissaire provincial, et j'avais été demandé auparavant par le diocèse de Valleyfield aussi pour présenter un mémoire.

Ce sont deux courtes communications. La première provient justement de la Fédération des Scouts du Québec et se lit comme suit:

Nous avons pris connaissance du projet d'établissement d'un gazoduc dans la vallée du Mackenzie; nous avons également pris connaissance de l'existence de votre Commission qui reçoit des réactions de la part du public sur ce projet.

Notre intérêt à vous communiquer notre réaction réside dans le fait qu'un des buts du scoutisme est d'apprendre le respect de la nature à nos jeunes. Une de nos lois scoutes se formule d'ailleurs ainsi:

" Le scout protège la vie".

Un deuxième intérêt réside dans le fait qu'un autre but du scoutisme est d'apprendre aux jeunes le sens du partage et de la fra-

J.M. Beauregard

ternité; deux autres lois scoutes le signifient clairement:

" Un scout partage avec tous"

" Un scout est frère de tous".

Si nous avons cité ces objets d'éducation des jeunes au début de notre communication, ce n'est pas seulement pour vous faire des déclarations de principe, mais aussi pour vous soumettre un cas d'expérience que nous considérons bien limité, mais qui, à notre point de vue, a quand même sa valeur.

En effet, nous avons actuellement un projet de fondation du scoutisme à la Baie James.

Nous avons pu y constater comment les relations humaines -- partage et fraternité -- y sont détériorées entre les blancs et les autochtones.

Ainsi avions-nous cru que l'installation des scouts aurait pu être profitable aux deux groupes, mais cela ne nous apparaît plus possible à cause de la méfiance chronique qui s'est installée entre les deux groupes.

De plus, sans être des spécialistes de l'environnement, il y a lieu de craindre que des projets de si grande envergure réalisés trop rapidement, risquent de menacer l'environnement.

Si nous avons cette réaction

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pour le projet de la Baie James, vous comprendrez facilement qu'il y a lieu de craindre que si le développement du gazoduc de la vallée du Mackenzie se fait dans les mêmes conditions qu'à la Baie James, les mêmes problèmes de relations humaines apparaîtront et les mêmes risques de détérioration de l'environnement seront encourus.

Enfin, permettez-moi de vous signaler notre intérêt actuel à participer à la protection de l'environnement dans les centres urbains et à vous spécifier les difficultés énormes que nous rencontrons pour parvenir à améliorer la moindre des situations détériorées.

Ne serait-il pas possible de mieux prévenir pour que nous n'ayons pas dans les années futures à mettre sur pied des comités de restauration de l'environnement et de restauration des relations entre les groupes ethniques.

Il est si difficile de reconstruire ce qui a déjà été détruit qu'il nous paraît énormément plus souhaitable de prévenir toute détérioration.

Ainsi, nous nous joignons à tout autre groupe pour demander l'obtention d'un moratoire de dix ans (10) sur ce projet de construction d'un gazoduc de la vallée du Mackenzie, afin que le développement qu'il sera possible d'y faire se fasse

J.M. Beauregard

de façon harmonieuse, c'est-à-dire que la nature et les gens soient respectés.

Nous vous remercions pour l'attention que vous avez portée à notre communication. Les Scouts du Québec.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

Alors, voici le deuxième court texte présenté, qui représente le diocèse de Valleyfield.

Alors, parce que je suis commissaire scout et que je suis impliqué directement dans certaines actions visant à protéger l'environnement dans le sud-ouest du Québec,

Parce que, en tant que vice-président du regroupement québécois pour l'environnement, j'ai eu l'occasion de prendre connaissance des grands dossiers de l'environnement au Québec,

Le diocèse de Valleyfield m'a demandé de présenter un mémoire, auprès de la Commission Berger, dont le mandat est de consulter la population sur la construction d'un gazoduc dans la vallée du Mackenzie.

La communication que je vous présente se veut une réflexion sur la logique irréfléchie du développement d'un pays comme le nôtre.

Quand on annonce un grand projet de développement du style de la Baie James,

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de Mirabel ou du gazoduc du Mackenzie, celui-ci est toujours présenté comme une nécessité pour les canadiens, même comme une urgence.

On nous dit, que d'après les projections, le pays a besoin de plus de gaz, d'huile ou d'électricité en l'an deux mille (2,000) ou deux mille cent (2,100). Jamais on ne remet en question ces chiffres.

C'est vrai que nous aurons besoin de toute cette énergie, si nous continuons à la consommer au rythme actuel.

Pouvons-nous dire cependant que nous consommons à un rythme normal quand le Gouvernement n'a aucune politique concernant le recyclage des biens de consommation, quand le Gouvernement laisse, sans entraves, les multinationales faire la promotion de leurs produits et inciter la population à une consommation abusive?

Pour fabriquer, acheminer, vendre et utiliser tous ces produits non durables, non recyclés, et souvent inutiles, la population consomme une quantité énorme d'énergie.

Le but ultime des grandes multinationales est, à ce que je sache, faire de l'argent, et le plus possible.

Pour elles, il importe très peu que l'on gaspille de l'énergie, que l'on contamine

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la nature, que l'on exploite les défavorisés ou
que l'on épuise les richesses naturelles.

Malgré le beau visage qu'elles
se donnent, les multinationales sont loin d'avoir un
but philanthropique. Leur permettre d'exploiter,
sans réel contrôle, nos richesses naturelles, c'est
exposer les citoyens des générations futures à des
problèmes d'une ampleur catastrophique.

Un Gouvernement responsable
ne peut permettre l'exploitation importante de nou-
velles sources d'énergie tant qu'il n'a pas réglé
les problèmes du recyclage et du gaspillage dans notre
société.

S'il ne le fait pas, le temps
se chargera de nous ramener à la réalité quand nous
aurons à payer le coût social et économique de ces
abus actuels.

Avant de terminer, j'aimerais
m'élever contre cette politique de néo-colonisation
des gens du Nord.

Tous savent que sans l'exploit-
ation éhontée des pays pauvres notre standard de vie
ne serait pas ce qu'il est à l'heure actuelle.

Or, sous l'étiquette progrès,
on se dirige actuellement vers le génocide d'un peuple
qui a toujours vécu d'une façon équilibrée avec les
biens qu'il possédait.

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Les gens du Nord canadien
n'ont pas à souffrir des besoins énergétiques abor-
aux de leurs concitoyens du Sud.

Il va sans dire que j'appuie
l'idée d'un moratoire de dix ans (10) sur la question
du gazoduc du Mackenzie. Pendant cette période,
le Gouvernement pourra prendre le temps de faire
des politiques de recyclage et d'analyser, sous
tous ses aspects, le problème du gaspillage actuel.

Je suis sûr que les généra-
tions futures jugeront favorablement ce geste.

Merci.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

(WITNESS ASIDE)

Huges & Seitz

1 MR. WADDELL: The next brief,
2 Mr. Commissioner, is from the Canadian Chamber of
3 Commerce. Presenting the brief will be their executive
4 director, Mr. Sam Hughes, and with him will be Mr.
5 Loren Seitz. That's spelled L-O-R-E-N S-E-I-T-Z.
6 Mr. Hughes and Mr. Seitz?

7
8 SAM HUGHES,

9 LOREN SEITZ, sworn:

10 WITNESS HUGHES: Sir, having
11 explored some of the aspects of the subject under
12 discussion and becoming increasingly familiar with the
13 dedication and sincerity of many of the people who are
14 involved, and many of the thoughts which are involved,
15 on behalf of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce I would
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1 like to express our thanks to you personally for
2 undertaking a task which is not to be envied. We're
3 truly grateful to you for undertaking this particular
4 assignment.

5 The Canadian Chamber of Commerce
6 welcomes this opportunity to appear before the
7 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry to express the views
8 of its membership regarding a proposed pipeline to
9 carry northern natural gas to the southern markets.

10 The Canadian Chamber is the
11 voluntary federation of some 650 community Chambers of
12 Commerce and Boards of Trade. These organizations are
13 located in every province and territory in the country,
14 including the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.
15 The vast majority of these community Chambers and
16 Boards are in communities of less than 5,000 in
17 population, drawing their membership from people in
18 every walk of life.

19 The comments included in this
20 submission concerning the proposed Mackenzie Valley
21 Pipeline are based upon the statement of policy of the
22 Canadian Chamber of Commerce which was approved at our
23 September, 1975 meeting held in Saskatoon, approved
24 by member Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade,
25 each of which has only one vote, regardless of its
26 numerical membership or location.

27 At our last Annual Meeting,
28 the assembled membership discussed the issue of such
29 a pipeline and came out in favor of its early construc-
30 tion and completion.

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1 Because of the nature of
2 its membership, the National Chamber approaches all
3 problems from the point of view of the best interest
4 of Canada as a whole and all of its people. It is
5 fair to say that although Canada is a vast and
6 disparate country, the various regions are quite inter-
7 dependent. Therefore, certain matters affecting one
8 region will have an effect upon the country as a
9 whole. Such is the case with regard to the proposed
10 pipeline.

11 Similarly, certain matters
12 affecting the economy of the country will be felt in
13 all regions, including the north. As a result, it is
14 not possible to consider the impact of a project such
15 as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in relation only to
16 the north. The completion or abandonment of the project
17 will have an impact on the country as a whole, including
18 the north.

19 As many other groups have no
20 doubt pointed out, Canada's future energy supply from
21 conventional sources is not bright. Canada is already
22 a net importer of oil and based upon National Energy
23 Board projections by the end of this decade, we will
24 be facing a natural gas shortage.

25 This situation creates two
26 very pressing problems. First of all, even with the
27 development of the Tar Sands and stringent conservation
28 measures, we will be a net importer of oil to the extent
29 of \$2.8 billion by 1980 and \$4.7 billion by 1985. In
30 the period 1976 to 1985, the cost of net oil imports

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will be \$20 billion more than the revenues Canada will receive from authorized export sales of natural gas.

Secondly, security of supply would be seriously lacking if Canada were to become increasingly dependent upon foreign sources. Actions over this country would have no control, might lead to a curtailment of supply with serious effects upon our economy. Similarly, a second round of major price increases by the oil exporting countries could, under such circumstances result in more serious economic problems than those experienced during the past few years.

These problems would not be confined to the southern regions of Canada. The economic, social and political development of the north would certainly suffer from events which had a detrimental effect upon the country as a whole.

Obviously, the only solution is to develop new sources of energy. In the medium terms, the next ten years, one of the most important proven sources which can make a major contribution to Canada's energy needs is the natural gas reserves located in the Mackenzie Delta. The most feasible method of transporting that gas to the major demand areas of the country is by way of a pipeline. Canada needs those supplies of natural gas and it needs them quickly. Should the northern gas not reach the southern market by the early 1980's, Canada could suffer economic hardship.

There is no doubt that the

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socio-economic impact of the pipeline development upon the north and its residents would be significant.

In most cases, the impact could and would be positive.

Few northern residents have not advocated economic development of the area. The native people are seeking and the Federal Government has promised to offer to them a share of the benefits from resource development in the region. The pipeline is a key to the development of the resources of the north. Not only will the construction phase create a great deal of direct economic activity, but the spin-off effects of construction will bring further employment and business activity to the region. As importantly, the decision to build the pipeline would no doubt lead to increased exploration activity for natural gas. Further, operation and maintenance of the pipeline as well as of the gas wells will provide long-term employment.

Many of these job opportunities could and should go to the residents of the area. Both Mackenzie Valley Pipeline applicants have apparently expressed this view and have agreed to provide a substantial number of employment opportunities to northern residents along with necessary training programs to better equip potential employees from the region to take maximum advantage of the opportunities which will exist. The opportunities will relate not only to the construction phase, but also to the operation and maintenance of the system.

The major social impact of the

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1 pipeline and related activities will be to provide
2 northerners with the opportunity to participate in a
3 wage economy if they should so desire. That opportuni-
4 ty has not existed in large measure up to this time.
5 It should be pointed out however that there must still
6 be an opportunity for those who wish to retain a more
7 traditional manner of livelihood to do so. The pipeline
8 will affect only a very small geographic segment of the
9 north and particularly after construction, its impact
10 upon those who choose the traditional lifestyle
11 should be negligible.

12 Lastly, some residents of the
13 area may choose to mix participation in a wage economy
14 for part of the year with a traditional lifestyle for
15 the remainder. Those wishing to choose this option
16 should have the opportunity to do so.

17 Some may feel that any change
18 in the lifestyle of northern residents will have a
19 negative impact. Obviously, only each individual
20 resident of the area can provide the answer to that
21 question as it relates to himself or herself. In any
22 event, abandonment of the project would not halt social
23 change in the region. Change is happening now and will
24 continue to happen. The adjustment to change will have
25 to be made in a manner which is most beneficial to the
26 people of the area. The greatest contribution which
27 can be made to the process of social adjustment would be
28 the planned, co-ordinated construction of the pipeline
29 in a manner which will serve the interests of the
30 country as a whole as well as the residents of the north.

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The members of the Chamber recognize that this project is one which does not have many precedents. Furthermore, the area through which it will be built is unique and poses new and different environmental problems. We are pleased that the companies concerned and the Federal Government have paid so much attention to the environmental issues surrounding this project.

Two questions should be addressed in relation to this issue. First, have all the major environmental problems been identified and resolved at this time? Secondly, can the impact of the remaining environmental problems be reduced to a practical minimum during the construction phase? If, as we suspect, the major problems have been identified and resolved and that a further delay will not significantly contribute to the resolution of the remaining problems, then construction should begin as soon as possible.

The Chamber has supported and continues to support an early settlement to native land claims. We therefore hope that a fair and reasonable settlement with regard to the native land claims in the Mackenzie Valley will be forthcoming soon. In the event that these claims are not settled before construction begins, measures ought to be taken to ensure that in their negotiations, the native people will not be at any disadvantage owing to the building of the pipeline, nor should the extent of the native interest recognized in the final settlement be diminished

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1 by the construction of the pipeline.

2 The terms of reference of
3 this Inquiry are such that one can expect certain
4 conditions to be attached to the granting of the
5 right-of-way in order to protect the environment of
6 the north and to serve the interests of northern
7 residents. We share these concerns and thus do not
8 object to any terms and conditions which are reasonable
9 and constructive. We would however caution against
10 terms and conditions which might undermine the long-
11 term economic viability of the pipeline, delay the
12 starting date of construction or stretch out the
13 construction period beyond that projected by the
14 applicants.

15 We would also like to point
16 out that at this time, Canada has not yet reached a
17 crisis point in its energy situation. As a result,
18 we can now plan properly to build the pipeline giving
19 due consideration to the environmental concerns and
20 the impact upon the people of the north. Should the
21 start of construction be delayed, Canada will, at some
22 time in the future be faced with a serious energy
23 problem. This could lead to a decision to build the
24 pipeline under emergency conditions without due
25 regard for the environmental or social impact upon the
26 north. This is a situation which this Inquiry, the
27 government, the Chamber and all Canadians would wish
28 to avoid.

29 To summarize, the Canadian
30 Chamber of Commerce is of the opinion that the development

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of the natural gas resources of the Mackenzie Delta is essential to the well-being of the country as a whole and that the pipeline is the most economic method of moving these supplies to the southern market. We urge that the construction be authorized so that the product is available by the early 1980's.

Sir, thank you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much. Thank you.

(WITNESSES ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: I should say Boudrias Mr. Commissioner, with Mr./is Mr. Eddy Gardner.

REAL BOUDRIAS,
EDDY GARDNER, sworn;

WITNESS BOUDRIAS: Good afternoon, Justice Berger. On behalf of the Metis Association we welcome the Berger hearings as an important and vital mechanism of what is known as participatory democracy. Your Inquiry is important because the Canadian population, both north and south will have a chance to become aware of the social, environmental, political and economic consequences of a massive undertaking such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline prior to its actual construction. It is vital to all Canadians because the impact of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline construction involves major questions such as the future depletion of non-renewable resources, national energy policy, the need for one, alternatives in the using of renewable energy sources such as the wind and the sun, the environmental protection of the

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1 last frontier of Canada and the need to settle with
2 the long outstanding land claims of the aboriginal
3 people in the north. The Trudeau Government has a
4 golden opportunity to practice participatory democracy
5 with the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley
6 Pipeline because the people from the community levels
7 in the Northwest Territories and the people from all
8 walks of life in the south have been enthusiastically
9 participating in this important Inquiry. It will be
10 a serious mistake if the construction of the
11 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline gets underway without
12 considering what the people are saying in this Inquiry.

13 The oil and companies, through
14 expensive advertising and public relations have been
15 pumping into the public that oil and gas explorations
16 are absolutely necessary because of the energy crisis.
17 Therefore, the black gold rush is on. Greed for the
18 fast buck and panic has taken the place of wisdom in
19 plans for economic development of Canada's last frontier.
20 However, now the people in the north have an alternative
21 to what could become a disaster. What the people in
22 the north are asking is the promotion of the concept
23 of community development. This alternative is far from
24 from anti-development. This alternative will carefully
25 chart out economic development based on needs and
26 aspirations of the people of the north based on their
27 own political institutions. After a just land claims
28 settlement, the aboriginal people who constitute the
29 majority in the north will be able to bring about land
30 and resource sharing which will benefit both north and

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1 south.

2 We fully support the people
3 of Nunavut and the Dene nation's position that there
4 be no further major economic undertaking such as the
5 building of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline until there
6 is a just land claims settlement based on their aborigin-
7 al rights. If the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is being
8 built during negotiations for a settlement, it will
9 be just like negotiating with a cannon at their
10 heads. How can you negotiate a settlement of something
11 that is being destroyed before your very eyes? What
12 is at stake, as you know Mr. Berger, is their land,
13 their culture and their survival.

14 We hope that through the
15 Berger Hearings, Mr. Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian
16 Affairs and Northern Development, will realize that the
17 Dene Declaration is not a declaration of separatism.
18 On the contrary, the Dene have expressed very eloquently
19 and yet simply that the Dene nation only wants an
20 equal partnership in Confederation. The Dene nation
21 and the people of Nunavut have clearly expressed that
22 they are not against northern development. The
23 aborigines of the north who are in the majority have
24 stated very explicitly their willingness to share their
25 land and resources. The native people in the north
26 have proven that they are reasonable, capable and
27 responsible enough to accomplish self-sufficiency,
28 self-determination and northern development. Therefore,
29 the Honorable Judd Buchanan should be responsible,
30 reasonable and capable of supporting and defending the

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1 realistic principles of the Dene Declaration. If Mr.
2 Buchanan is not ready to do this, then he is not
3 fulfilling his responsibility, and should of
4 course resign.

5 WITNESS GARDNER: We would
6 like to take the opportunity at this time, Mr. Berger,
7 to inform everybody that the energy crisis has been
8 responsible for helping break down the stereo-type
9 of what Indian people are all about by bringing the
10 issue of aboriginal rights to the forefront with
11 economic development such as the Mackenzie Valley
12 Pipeline in our Indian land .

13 We would like to go on record
14 as respecting the James Bay Crees for what they have
15 negotiated as far as their aboriginal rights are con-
16 cerned. However, as it was stated, the Inuit, the
17 Metis and the aboriginal people of the Northwest
18 Territories are in the majority in their land and
19 unlike the James Bay Crees and the Inuits of Quebec,
20 they want to develop their aboriginal rights and have
21 them enshrined in legislation. What they want is just
22 like the French in Quebec, to become an autonomous
23 province and join in equal partnership within
24 Confederation.

25 This will be a fine opportunity,
26 Mr. Berger, for the Canadian society to recognize
27 that there are three founding peoples of this country
28 called Canada; the English people, the French people,
29 and the aboriginal people of this country.

30 Thank you.

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1 Nous supportons aussi pleine-
2 ment la nation Dene et le peuple de Nunavut, afin que
3 l'entente finale de la Baie James ne serve pas
4 de précédent dans les négociations en cours.

5 Le peuple aborigène des Ter-
6 ritoires du Nord-Ouest demande la reconnaissance et
7 la préservation de leurs droits et non l'extinction
8 de ces mêmes droits.

9 Leurs revendications, que
10 nous jugeons légitimes, sont basées sur leur descen-
11 dance ancestrale, les lois actuelles et la jurisprudence.
12 Ainsi, le Gouvernement du Canada devrait respecter
13 leurs droits et leur accorder leurs revendications en
14 signant une entente finale avec les aborigènes de
15 cette région avant que soit prise une décision sur
16 la construction de ce pipeline.

17 Dans un autre ordre d'idées,
18 nous ne pouvons que rappeler, monsieur Berger, l'im-
19 portance de donner à cette enquête le maximum de
20 publicité dans les différents média d'informations
21 afin que durant et après les audiences publiques
22 les citoyens soient parfaitement informés des diffé-
23 rentes prises de position qui sont représentées devant
24 vous.

25 Beaucoup de groupes de
26 citoyens, individus, organisations ainsi que des
27 représentants de corporations ont donné leur temps
28
29
30

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et leur énergie pour faire valoir les différentes positions face à la construction d'un pipeline dans la vallée du Mackenzie.

Les gens qui seront les plus immédiatement touchés par cette entreprise, ont fait valoir très fortement et clairement, durant cette enquête, que cette construction majeure ne devrait pas être entreprise pour des raisons d'ordre politique, sociale ou relativement à l'environnement.

L'opinion publique devrait être sensibilisée aux paroles sages exprimées avec éloquence par les aborigènes des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du reste du Canada sur le développement économique, l'utilisation des territoires et le partage des ressources naturelles.

Il est important de souligner que le peuple aborigène du Sud a vu ses droits aboriginaux violés dans les derniers cent ans (100) à cause principalement d'un manque de planification économique et pour de multiples autres raisons.

Pour illustrer cette situation, pour le moins dramatique, nous n'avons qu'à constater l'arrêt des activités commerciales et la pêche pour les autochtones habitant les régions de la rivière Wabagoon, au nord de l'Ontario et Matagami dans le nord-ouest du Québec.

Comment le peuple aborigène

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1 du Sud peut-il lutter pour ses droits de pêche quand
2 les poissons des rivières et des lacs sont contaminés
3 par des rebuts industriels tels que le mytil de mer-
4 cure?

5 C'est, monsieur Berger, une
6 chose qui pourrait être évitée dans ces territoires
7 du Nord-ouest, si seulement les grandes corporations
8 et le Gouvernement du Canada voulaient bien apprendre
9 des erreurs commises dans le passé et prêter une
10 oreille attentive aux positions éclairées du peuple
11 aborigène.
12

13 La lutte que mène le peuple
14 autochtone des Territoires du Nord-Ouest pour la
15 reconnaissance de ses droits aboriginaux est diffé-
16 rente de la lutte menée par les autochtones de d'autres
17 régions du Canada, telles que le Québec par exemple.
18

19 Ici, la situation est plus
20 complexe, parce que des torts irréparables ont
21 déjà été commis; dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest,
22 le Gouvernement canadien doit avoir la responsabilité
23 d'éviter que les mêmes erreurs soient commises.
24

25 Nous croyons que c'est par
26 les recommandations des autochtones devant cette
27 Commission que nous éviterons la destruction de
28 ces territoires et que nous favoriserons véritablement
29 le développement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest.
30

Monsieur le Commissaire, nous

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aimerions, en dernier lieu, souligner qu'en respectant la déclaration du peuple de Dene, le Gouvernement canadien mettra fin au colonialisme et sera artisan d'une ère nouvelle d'égalité et de justice.

En respectant la déclaration du peuple de Dene, le Gouvernement du Canada respectera en fait les droits à la démocratie du peuple de ce territoire.

En respectant la déclaration du peuple de Dene, le Gouvernement canadien permettra d'établir de nouvelles et meilleures relations entre les autochtones et la société euro-canadienne, mettant ainsi fin aux querelles intestines entre les blancs et le peuple autochtone de ce pays.

Enfin, en respectant la déclaration du peuple de Dene, le Gouvernement du Canada pourra inscrire et garantir, dans une législation, les droits aboriginaux du peuple autochtone des Territoires du Nord-Ouest.

En terminant, monsieur Berger, nous aimerions mettre en garde la société dominante du Canada et lui rappeler que l'histoire a prouvé que l'on opprime pas éternellement un peuple sans que celui-ci réagisse collectivement pour forcer les gouvernants à lui donner ce qui leur revient de droit.

Le peuple autochtone du Canada a des droits indéniables comme faisant partie

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1 du peuple des premiers habitants de ce pays et en
2 regard de ce statut particulier, le Gouvernement du
3 Canada doit répondre aux besoins exprimés par nos
4 communautés.

5
6 Le Gouvernement canadien peut
7 encore réagir pour empêcher la destruction d'une civili-
8 sation et de son mode de vie.

9 APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---
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Father D. Innocenti

(WITNESSES ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, our next brief will be by Father David Innocenti and after that, we'll call upon the Centre Information Communautaire de Sainte Scholastique.

FATHER DAVID INNOCENTI, sworn;

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner, I come here today from Benedict Labary(?) House, a hospitality house and community in Griffin Town, one of the most neglected parts of this city.

For 25 years we've been providing free food, clothing and shelter to those in need, particularly the people of the streets. We're involved in neighborhood work as well as research and practical action plans that deal with the why of poverty in our nation and particularly the why of people on the streets.

So, the perspective I offer today is one particularly of the men and women of the streets, of the most exploited in our midst, of the most economically impoverished.

So far, those who have opposed the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project have stressed heavily a ten-year moratorium in which time the native people's rights and claims would be guaranteed and the environment would be protected. We say, "Yes, that must be done", but even if it is does done, we do stand firmly against the present or future construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project.

Why? Because at present we

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1 believe that in any government or any action of
2 government, the priority, the first consideration must
3 be the poorest and the most exploited in our midst.
4 With that perspective, we say "no".

5 Will this pipeline project
6 in any way benefit the poor, the exploited, the
7 homeless among whom we live? We say, "No." The people
8 with whom we live and share our daily life are similar
9 in many ways to our brothers and sisters of the north.
10 For the people of the streets, we all stand together
11 outside the mainstream of social life today. We
12 are witnesses from the outside to a society that's
13 racing to fill itself with new means of amusements and
14 superfluous goods, making unrealistic and outrageous
15 demands on the environment and its energy sources in
16 the pursuit of a very wasteful existence.

17 We at Labary House witness
18 this race from the outside. We watch society pass us
19 by neglecting our people's basic needs. Therefore
20 before our government considers investing what we
21 understand would be somewhere over \$200 billion into
22 this and similar projects to come into the future,
23 that this government seriously first look to the poor,
24 to the exploited and see that we are provided for, that
25 we have our basic needs taken care of, that our
26 people have adequate housing, enough food, and can live
27 with relative peace and security, that the men and
28 the women of the streets genuinely be cared for and
29 respected for from our perspective at Labary House
30 we see every day people struggling with poor housing,

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1 struggling to provide enough food for their families,
2 living in conditions that don't correspond to their
3 dignity as human beings. We live and share with the
4 men and women on the streets who have no place to
5 live and no place in our society.

6 This list is infinite. In
7 the voice of the poor we say "give us justice. Stop
8 being a government that is more concerned with business,
9 with the rich and with profits than with the poor in
10 providing for human needs." The government has no
11 right to spend this money for we know that it entail
12 many cutbacks in social and welfare services. The
13 government has no right to spend this money when many
14 more basic needs in Canada are crying to be met.

15 The second reason we object
16 relates to the claims of the energy companies, that
17 we need this additional gas and oil because for what
18 we now have will now see us into the next millenium.
19 But let us remember that this energy is being tapped
20 to maintain a lifestyle in Canada that is wasteful and
21 an affront to millions of people throughout Canada and
22 the world who are struggling every day just to survive
23 and to meet their basic needs.

24 Surely we are all well aware
25 that Canada and her neighbors to the south 6½% of
26 the world's population are now consuming more than
27 43% of its energy supplies. We are a wasteful people,
28 guilty of over-consumption but yet we still madly
29 search for new sources of energy to keep up a lifestyle
30 that is selfish, wasteful and above all unjust and that

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deprives the poor, the exploited at home and abroad of their rightful share in the earth's goods.

We already over-consume. Why be allowed to continue, for if we want to seriously deal with the problem of poverty and social injustice in our land, then it is essential that the rich, that all the people of Canada learn that now they must live with less and stop the waste. There are too many others in our midst who are lacking in essentials to allow the rich, to allow business to continue in amassing their superfluous waste.

This pipeline and all the future ones, we feel, are wrong because they perpetrate the illusion that the rich can continue living as they do because there is always the government to aid business, to find new ways to finance and support their amusements and wasteful lives, waste-filled lives.

So in conclusion, Mr. Commissioner, from the perspective of the poor, the exploited and the people of the streets, we say a firm "no" to this project; but most of all, we affirm and ask that the government seriously begin to look to the poor and to help us all create a lifestyle that's based on human needs, not on wealth, profit, comfort and competition. In one final statement, we ask that the government beware the power of the gas and oil companies, that if they do not get this and similar pipelines, we fear that again they will take it out on the poor by raising prices to an unreasonable degree.

Father D. Innocenti

1 While we ask the government
2 to say "No" to this pipeline, we ask them also to
3 really seriously begin to regulate the power that the
4 gas and oil companies already have over the lives of
5 our people, to protect the poor against the tyranny
6 of the gas and the oil companies, and a tyranny it is,
7 because every day, particularly in the winters, we
8 see and meet the problems of the poorer families who
9 don't have sufficient funds to adequately heat their
10 homes and for families that can provide, as everyone
11 knows, tremendous complications.

12 So we're asking as we say
13 not only a "No" to this proposal, but that the govern-
14 ment also seriously consider regulating the power of
15 the gas and oil companies which we feel has by far
16 exceeded any humane or just limits.

17 (WITNESS ASIDE)

18 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
19 the next brief is from the Centre d'Information
20 Communautaire de Sainte Scholastique.
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Lafond, Bouvet, Hubert

RITA LAFOND, ANDRE BOUVET,

MONSIEUR BERNARD HUBERT, assermentés:

MADAME RITA LAFOND: Nous désirons présenter quelques éléments de réflexion sur le pipeline du Mackenzie de la part des "aménagés" de Mirabel.

Ce mémoire a été rédigé par le Centre d'Information et d'Animation Communautaire de Sainte-Scholastique, l'organisme qui représente les expropriés touchés par la construction de l'aéroport international de Montréal.

Nous désirons également souligner que ce mémoire a reçu l'appui de Monseigneur Bernard Hubert, évêque de Saint-Jérôme.

Notre organisme est heureux de profiter de l'occasion offerte par votre Commission pour venir exprimer un point de vue sur les aspects sociaux de développements industriels tel celui du pipeline du Mackenzie.

Trop souvent, ces dimensions sont oubliées au profit d'une rationalité basée exclusivement sur des considérations techniques et économiques.

Nous laissons à d'autres le soin de développer les avantages économiques ou la nécessité vitale du gazoduc pour assurer la croissance de l'économie canadienne.

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Nous voulons plutôt développer notre argumentation en dégageant les coûts sociaux inévitables dans de tels projets; coûts sociaux se traduisant à moyen ou long terme en coûts économiques.

Nous disons donc qu'un processus rationnel de décision devrait prendre en considération ces coûts sociaux et prévoir les mécanismes aptes à les minimiser.

L'expérience de la construction de l'aéroport international de Mirabel servira à étayer notre point de vue.

Avant de procéder à une description des changements occasionnés par ce projet, nous aimerions souligner à la Commission quelques données sociologiques.

L'aménagement du territoire ou le développement ne se déroule pas dans un espace uniquement physique ou géographique.

Mais, cet espace géographique réfère lui-même à un espace économique, social et culturel.

Autrement dit, l'aménagement du territoire signifie toujours et partout réaménagement de l'espace, social et culturel.

Prenez l'exemple de l'école Scholastique.

La construction de l'aéroport

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exigeait dans sa première phase un espace géographique de cinq mille (5,000) acres sur les quatre-vingt-treize mille acres (93,000) expropriés. Le reste, soit quatre-vingt-huit mille acres (88,000) devait être aménagé et loué aux anciens occupants qui pourraient continuer à exploiter ces terres comme par le passé.

Ce raisonnement faisait partie des prévisions des planifications du Gouvernement fédéral. Ces derniers entrevoyaient le départ de seulement une minorité d'expropriés, soit ceux de la zone aéroportuaire proprement dite; les autres pourraient continuer à demeurer sur le territoire.

C'était dans le rapport La Haye du Ministère des Transports.

Or, que s'est-il passé?

Une enquête effectuée en mil neuf cent soixante-quinze (1975) révèle que plus de cinquante pour cent (50%) des familles expropriées ont quitté le territoire exproprié. Cependant, seulement vingt pour cent (20%) de ces familles étaient obligées de partir à cause de la construction de l'aéroport.

Au moment de l'enquête, cette hémorragie des départs ne semblait pas devoir s'arrêter, puisque cinquante-six pour cent (56%)

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des personnes résidant sur le territoire envisageaient sérieusement de quitter leur domicile exproprié.

Un tel mouvement de migration s'explique par le fait que la construction de l'aéroport de Mirabel n'a pas seulement touché les cinq mille acres (5,000) de terres, mais elle a affecté l'ensemble de la société qui vivait sur ces terres.

En d'autres mots, la modification d'une petite partie de l'habitat physique s'est traduite par des changements importants au niveau économique, social et culturel.

Ce sont ces modifications dont nous aimerions maintenant, brièvement, faire état.

L'activité économique: L'agriculture constituait l'activité économique dominante de la région. Elle employait trente pour cent (30%) de la main-d'oeuvre active. A l'agriculture se greffaient les industries d'amont et d'aval qui fournissaient de l'emploi à une grande partie de la population active, un tiers (1/3).

Aujourd'hui, le nombre de producteurs agricoles a diminué de soixante-dix pour cent (70%) et les entreprises, qui leur étaient liées, sont presque toutes disparues.

On évalue à environ deux

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mille (2,000) le nombre de personnes affectées par ces changements.

quant aux anciens agriculteurs, ils se retrouvent soit chômeurs, six point un pour cent (6.1%), soit retraités prématurés, vingt-six pour cent (26%); soit salariés sur la construction, dans de petits emplois: concierges, gardiens etc. soixante-deux point neuf pour cent (62.9%).

La construction de l'aéroport aura créé, à la fin du projet, environ quatre mille (4,000) nouveaux emplois.

Ces chiffres viennent de l'Institut National de Recherches Scientifiques à Montréal.

Cependant, seulement une minorité d'agriculteurs seront éligibles à de tels emplois, puisqu'ils n'ont pas la scolarité ou la compétence requise.

Par conséquent, ces anciens producteurs, qui auparavant subvenaient largement à leurs besoins, seront d'ici quelques années à la charge de l'état, lorsque leur indemnité d'expropriation sera épuisée.

Il s'agit là d'un coût social important surtout si l'on considère que les fils de ces cultivateurs avaient eu aussi acquis leur éducation par la terre et qu'ils ont maintenant perdu

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leur droit à cette terre.

Cette compétence acquise sur la ferme plutôt qu'à l'école ne se mesure pas en diplôme. Elle est par conséquent difficilement monnayable.

Pour les agriculteurs comme pour les Indiens et les Inuits, la terre représente un moyen de produire ses conditions d'existence, en la leur enlevant, ce sont ces moyens d'existence mêmes qui disparaissent.

Il importe de prendre cette réalité en considération lorsqu'on aborde les problèmes d'une juste indemnité pour les réclamations territoriales.

Les problèmes sociaux: Les changements qui affectent l'activité économique se répercutent aussi au niveau social.

L'hémorragie des départs, inutiles, a complètement déstructuré la vie communautaire: quatre-vingt-quinze pour cent (95%) des personnes ont vu des membres de leur réseau d'amis ou de leur famille quitter le territoire.

Les réseaux d'entraide et de collaboration disparaissent; si bien que le trois quarts (3/4) de la population ne croit plus dans la possibilité de réorganiser la vie communautaire.

Tous s'accordent à dire que

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la génération des expropriés de Mirabel représente une génération perdue; et il sera très difficile, voire impossible, de rétablir un climat de confiance, qui dès le début du projet, a fait défaut.

Ces conséquences négatives du projet de Mirabel illustrent la nécessité de ne pas précipiter des projets de développement aux effets souvent difficiles à prévoir.

La politique du "agir maintenant, rationaliser plus tard" se traduit à Mirabel par des coûts sociaux incommensurables.

Quatre-vingt-dix-huit point huit pour cent (98.8%) de la population n'a pas eu l'impression d'avoir été suffisamment consultée et informée; l'insécurité était et demeure le principal problème, d'où les départs massifs en particulier chez les agriculteurs, soixante-dix pour cent (70%); ces départs signifient la déstructuration de l'agriculture.

A une époque où l'on parle de la nécessité d'une gestion responsable des ressources canadiennes, nous croyons qu'il est primordial de penser à un aménagement rationnel de nos ressources naturelles, terres arables; énergie.

Mais, si, en dépit de toutes les mises en garde, la rationalité des blancs du Sud devait l'emporter, ce qui se traduirait pour les

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1 Indiens par l'expropriation de leur mode de vie,
2 qu'au moins, pour une fois, un geste humanitaire soit
3 posé en défrayant monétairement les coûts sociaux
4 anticipés d'une telle expropriation.

5 C'est-à-dire, que l'on com-
6 pense justement cette population pour qu'elle ne soit
7 pas condamnée à l'indigence, mais que même après son
8 expropriation, ces gens puissent se considérer comme
9 des citoyens à part entière.

10 En particulier, nous insistons
11 nous joignant à de nombreux autres organismes, pour
12 demander qu'avant d'entreprendre tous travaux pour
13 le développement des ressources de la vallée du
14 Mackenzie, se tienne un moratoire suffisamment long
15 pour permettre de connaître précisément toutes les
16 conséquences socio-économiques d'un tel projet.

17 Peut-être serait-il alors
18 possible d'en minimiser les coûts sociaux ou du moins,
19 d'informer au préalable, les populations concernées.

20 De plus, ce moratoire devrait
21 servir à régler de façon équitable toutes les réclama-
22 tions territoriales des autochtones.

23 Un tel moratoire éviterait les
24 conséquences désastreuses qui se sont produites à
25 Sainte-Scholastique et empêcherait les relations In-
26 diens/Gouvernement de se transformer en conflit perma-
27 nent.

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Ce serait là un bien grand pas franchi par nos gouvernements en matière d'expropriation.

En guise de conclusion, on pourrait terminer sur le dicton qui dit: " Qu'à ceux qui ont faim, il vaut mieux leur apprendre à pêcher que de leur donner du poisson."

Le drame des expropriations de Sainte-Scholastique et de celles prévues dans la vallée du Mackenzie, c'est qu'on enlève à ceux qui le possèdent déjà, un droit acquis de pêche, de chasse, d'agriculture, pour les condamner trop souvent à avoir recours à l'assistance.

En terminant, nous remercions la Commission d'avoir donné aux expropriés de Sainte-Scholastique, l'opportunité de présenter leur opinion sur la construction du pipeline de la vallée du Mackenzie.

Merci.

APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

MONSEIGNEUR BERNARD HUBERT:

Monsieur le Commissaire, la dame qui vous a présenté ce rapport est la directrice générale du Centre d'Information et d'Animation Communautaire à Sainte-Scholastique, et c'est madame Rita Lafond. Elle a à sa gauche monsieur André Bouvet, qui a accompli avec le comité une fonction conseil déjà depuis quelques

1 années.

2 Je suis moi-même Bernard
3 Hubert, évêque de Saint-Jérôme, le diocèse où se
4 situe Sainte-Scholastique, Mirabel.

5 J'ai appuyé ce mémoire pour
6 deux raisons: je trouve qu'il faut qu'il y ait un mora-
7 toire suffisamment long avant qu'une décision soit
8 prise concernant une construction de pipeline dans la
9 vallée du Mackenzie, pour permettre aux Denes et aux
10 Inuits de pouvoir prendre le temps de négocier.

11 Dans la discussion relative
12 à l'entente de la Baie de James au Québec, je suis
13 venu en contact à plusieurs reprises, avec l'Associa-
14 tion des Inuits du Nouveau-Québec, j'ai été frappé
15 particulièrement dans ces contacts par le fait que
16 ces autochtones, ces Amérindiens se plaçaient autour
17 de la table, en face de représentants de cinq orga-
18 nismes très puissants.

19 Eux, Inuits du Nord du
20 Québec étaient attablés avec des représentants du
21 Gouvernement fédéral, du Gouvernement québécois,
22 de l'Hydro-Québec, de la Société d'Energie de la Baie
23 de James, la Société de Développement de la Baie de
24 James, ils se sentaient très petits et ils avaient
25 peur de ne pas pouvoir toujours faire confiance
26 à ce qu'on pouvait apporter dans les propos de ces
27 organismes puissants.

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Pour que les Denès et les Inuits en arrivent à pouvoir avoir la conviction que le règlement est non seulement raisonnable, parce qu'un règlement raisonnable ça va être défini en fonction de quels critères, la raisonnable ou l'acceptabilité d'un tel règlement, mais un règlement qui soit juste, c'est-à-dire en fonction de ce qu'on appelle chez les hommes la Justice.

Il me semble qu'il faut que les Inuits et les Denès aient le temps de pouvoir faire les discussions et les négociations et l'entente à laquelle ils souhaitent venir pour participer au développement de la vallée du Mackenzie.

L'autre raison qui me motive à appuyer la demande de moratoire, c'est que nous avons besoin de répondre à certaines questions très importantes au Canada relativement à la qualité de vie démocratique.

Comment sont prises les décisions concernant les besoins énergétiques.

On nous dit qu'il y a des besoins, ces besoins-là qui les définit, en fonction de quoi affirme-t-on qu'il y a des besoins?

Quand le Gouvernement nous dit que dans les vingt-cinq (25) prochaines années pour pouvoir garder le standard de vie, nous allons devoir multiplier par quatre fois les besoins en

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1 Énergie, quel est ce standard de vie que nous voulons
2 garder? Comment on va le définir, il me semble que
3 dans la collectivité, c'est important que nous puis-
4 sions ouvrir un débat là-dessus pour savoir quel style
5 de vie nous voulons mener?

6
7 Est-ce que c'est un style
8 qui est basé sur une consommation toujours plus grande
9 des biens de ce monde ou si c'est dans un style où
10 il y a modération, où il y a le respect des approvi-
11 sionnements, où il y a partage aussi avec ceux qui sont
12 dans le besoin par rapport à ces biens-là.

13
14 Nous allons devoir aussi
15 répondre à une autre question: quelle est la vérité
16 sur les ressources actuelles?

17 On a fait allusion dans un
18 mémoire précédent que d'ici dix ans (10), il y aurait
19 pénurie, c'est un porte-parole officiel du Gouverne-
20 ment fédéral qui me disait en mil neuf cent soixante
21 et onze (1971), qu'il y avait du pétrole pour neuf
22 cents.... je m'excuse, pour trois cent quatre-vingt-
23 douze ans (392), et des réserves de gaz naturel --
24 c'est-à-dire je m'excuse, pour neuf cent vingt-trois
25 ans de réserve de pétrole et pour trois cent quatre-
26 vingt-douze ans (392) de gaz naturel, et trois (3)
27 ans plus tard, on nous dit que d'ici dix ans (10), il
28 y aura pénurie.

29
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Comment peut-on évaluer les

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1 ressources, et est-ce que dans une situation démocra-
2 tique, le droit à l'information de la part des citoyens
3 n'est pas un droit sacré?

4 Alors, il y a des questions
5 très importantes qui se posent et qui doivent faire
6 l'objet d'un débat public comme celui que votre Com-
7 mission, monsieur le Commissaire, permet de tenir.

9 Et c'est en fonction de cela
10 que personnellement, selon les règles catholiques
11 au Québec, j'ai appuyé le mémoire du Centre d'Anima-
12 tion et d'Information Communautaire.

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14 LE COMMISSAIRE: Merci.

15 APPLAUDISSEMENTS ---

16 (WITNESSES ASIDE)
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Brother P. Kelly

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I call upon Brother Phil Kelly of the Offices of Development, Diocese of St. John.

BROTHER PHIL KELLY, sworn:

THE WITNESS: My name is Brother Phil Kelly, and I am representing the Office of Development of the Diocese of St. Jean de Quebec on the south shore.

My department in the diocese is that one which deals with social questions, and

Brother Phil Kelly

1 it's from that perspective I'll speak today.

2 As I understand your mandate
3 was to look into the social, environmental and economic
4 impact of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, I would like
5 to talk principally of the social.

6 The position as enunciated by
7 the Canadian Catholic Conference last year in their
8 Labor Day statement to me makes a lot of sense.
9 The brief to be presented by Project North will detail
10 that position with a clarity and a profundity beyond
11 by ability. I will merely share some reflections with
12 you.

13 First of all I'd like to
14 thank you for the opportunity of presenting a few
15 thoughts. We're aware that we're not just talking
16 about another pipeline or another well. We're talking
17 about justice and some real basic options open to
18 us as a country. What you recommend and the actions
19 that are taken on your recommendations will determine
20 what kind of a country we are and what kind of a
21 country we would hope to be. Because of the very
22 gravity of those implications, I would urge you to
23 recommend a long-term moratorium on development and
24 spend that time wisely.

25 In talking to people about
26 the whole question of the Berger Commission, there
27 were basically two reactions I got from people. The
28 first was

29 "Oh what the blazes. The decision has already been
30 made. The companies will get what they want".

or,

"Yes, I read about Judge Berger but if he comes out for a moratorium, the government will find some way of getting around that decision and go ahead and build."

I am sure you've heard that and similar comments hundreds of times in the past couple of years. I ^{am} merely quoting them to you to emphasize the importance of the other reactions I heard.

The other reactions were of a "to dream the impossible dream" type. Basically it was:

"Wouldn't it be great if we could slow down just once".

or,

"Imagine what it would be to the world if we put native peoples ahead of development";
 and old fellow told me:

"Isn't this something, the Indians giving us a chance instead of us giving the Indians another chance?"

There is a real fatigue in people about bigger and faster and dearer and dirtier. We have become growth junkies and I think we're just looking for another fix.

It's my belief, based on what I've been hearing from people, from church groups, from students, from workers, from Indians, from the people with whom I work and from that eloquent and very disturbing statement by Nelson Small Legs that the only sane and civilized approach to the whole

Brother Phil Kelly

question of northern development is to take a second look, to spread out the decision-making, declare a ten-year moratorium and answer three very basic questions: who decides, who benefits and who pays?

In the present context, the answers to those three questions are so obvious that that alone should make us stop and take a second look. The first priority obviously has to be given to the question of settling the land claims. Why should the companies from the south decide how the people in the north will live? Who gave us and our neighbors to the south who are this year celebrating their 200th year of independence the right to decide those things? Those claims have to be settled justly and with sufficient time to do it.

I notice that this testimony is being shared with the people from the north and as a kind of an indication of the kind of people they are going to be dealing with, I'd like to share this little story with them.

Mr. Robert Dorsey, recently fired from his position as Chairman of the Board of Gulf Oil Corporation on account of his part in the illegal payment of millions of dollars to politicians in other countries, will receive from Gulf a lump sum retirement payment of \$1.6 million, an annual pension of \$48 million -- \$48,000 pardon me, vacation pay, \$54,000, a stock bonus settlement of \$16,000 and a special stock option of \$900,000.

THE COMMISSIONER: That was

Brother Phil Kelly

1 for a dishonorable discharge? Is that --

2 A You would have to say
3 that this is a company that has a very severe attitude
4 toward bribery, wouldn't you?

5 We can use this time to
6 look at other energy sources, Mr. Commissioner, and the
7 way we're currently using the ones we have. Can anyone
8 now remember when automobiles were merely for
9 transportation and not the keystone of our whole
10 economy? Last week somebody estimated that the
11 average life of a car in Canada now is less than five
12 years and no one even blinked when you heard that;
13 but if the car sales don't increase every year, we
14 go on a national alert.

15 I'm no expert on energy
16 resources but I think that's something we really
17 lack in Canada these days -- experts on energy
18 resources.

19 In preparing for this
20 presentation, I was struck by the fact that the most
21 pessimistic predictions for our energy future come
22 from those who would most benefit from the exploitation.
23 These predictions, I think, you should take with a
24 grain of salt. When I was a kid they used to tell a
25 story in my home town of a farmer who had just moved
26 into the area and on his first visit to the general
27 store, he was struck by the quantity of salt in that
28 store. There was bags of it and barrels of it and
29 bricks of it all over the place.

30 "Lord!"

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he said to the storekeeper,

"You must be good at selling salt."

"No. I hardly sell any at all but there a guy
through here last fall and could he sell salt!"

I'd like to close with a
little personal note. I believe you're going to
be in Ottawa next week. This week? This week.

If you have a couple of
hours, I wish you'd take a drive up the Gatineau.
Fifty years ago, a paper company and a hydro company
changed people's lives up there and it's a good
setting to look at the answers that I mentioned --
look for answers to the questions I asked a couple of
minutes ago: who decides, who benefits and who pays?

My dad, Gerald Kelly has a
farm in Farrellton, and his was one of the many farms
which had water, concrete or steel placed on them.
In his case it was hydro lines. The settlement was
on a take-it or leave-^{-it} basis with no time line. The
electricity went to Toronto to run the streetcars
there. Our farm was so close to the power house that
we could hear the generators. He and his neighbors
had to build the lines themselves to bring electricity
to our settlement, and all this 35 years after the plant
was built. Indeed, who decides and who benefits and
who pays?

I recommend a pause, Mr.
Commissioner. I think it would do us all a lot
of good. I think it would give time for a just
settlement of the land claims. It would be time for

Brother Phil Kelly

1 further and deeper studies that are needed. If
2 your recommendations are followed, I think it would be
3 the perfect antidote for what I see as the real
4 sickness of the seventies, and that's cynicism.

5 Good luck, Mr. Commissioner.

6 Thank you.

7 (WITNESS ASIDE)

8 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner

9 I wonder if we could take a short break, no more than
10 ten minutes, for coffee and while we're doing, that
11 I wonder if I could see up here Mrs. Jones, Dr. Edwards
12 the Langstons, Mr. Mukerie and Reverend Scyner?..

13 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
14 we'll take a ten minute break.

15 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
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R. Mukerie

PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUENT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, before we begin, I'd like to file some briefs. I'd like to file a brief from Sister Helen Trieff, that's spelled T-R-I-E-F-F, and she's handed me a brief I'd like to file with you. It's on her behalf, on behalf of six other sisters. I'll file that with Miss Hutchinson so that you can get it, Mr. Commissioner. I'd also like to file a brief handed to me by Jennifer De Lesala, L-E-S-A-L-A, who's been waiting as an addition to our list but I don't think we'll be able to get to her today and she's kindly given me a copy of her brief and I'll file that. I also have a brief here from Miss Cathy Langston, who was on our list with her mother, Mrs. Mary Langston, and Mary Langston will give her brief. Miss Cathy Langston has kindly agreed that we could file this for your reading. I would call upon the Centre Monchanin.

ROMAN MUKERIE, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Fellow concerned citizens, I'm here on behalf of the Centre Monchanin to present a brief which should have been originally presented by my director, Robert Vachon, who unfortunately is engaged in Quebec at the moment doing similar work.

We are a cross-cultural centre established for the last 13 years and our concern is in a cross-cultural pipeline. It is in that context that we present our brief.

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R. Mukerie

1 cally pursues a policy of integration, which is no other
2 than one of assimilation into the mainstream of the
3 one standard of human growth, the developed society.

4 Although we are quite conscious
5 of the energy and other needs of our dominant society,
6 we nevertheless feel that northern development and the
7 development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, in parti-
8 cular, if we're not careful, could become just another
9 instance, but a more serious one of the same ethnocide,
10 anthropocide and finally, suicide. It could, on the
11 other hand, become a unique occasion for cross-cultural
12 understanding with far-reaching consequences all over
13 the world. If the latter is to happen, it is urgently
14 imperative that before we rush into northern development
15 and before we even plan any pipeline, that we stop and
16 radically question the unquestioned assumptions of our
17 dominant culture and that we listen carefully, very
18 carefully, to the so-called underdeveloped native
19 peoples.

20 This means not only attentive
21 consideration of their declarations like the Dene and the
22 Inuit Tapirisat, where the native peoples try to
23 communicate, oftentimes in the foreign terms of the
24 dominant society in order to be understood, a very
25 different vision of life from what we are accustomed to
26 here. It means also and more importantly, listening
27 carefully to their way of life, their vision of human
28 growth, of law, politics, economics, social organization,
29 their attitude towards land, not necessarily as these
30 are written down but as they are lived.

The kind of listening we are pleading for is not a quick, conceptual one which comes from a questionnaire, a survey, even if it is done "in the field" through so-called participant observation. It is more demanding. It means trying to learn from these peoples how to live, being educated in some way by the "illiterate", the so-called uneducated, learning something about law and justice from their medicine wheel. It means doctors and nurses trying to learn some medicine from their medicine men and from their people. It means economists and developers learning something from their economic system and their attitude towards land. It means our political system going to the school of the natives' social and political organizations.

By this, we suppose, of course, not only that we stop considering them ~~a~~ priori as underdeveloped, but that we stop thinking of ourselves and ^{of} /our culture as the sole definer and evaluator of the good life and of what we like to call development. It means, in a word, proceeding to learn daily from them, at all levels, as much as we think they can learn from us and this is not going to be done through nice folkloric, sentimental, romantic, touristic, multi-culturalism, but through man-to-man, people-to-people, culture-to-culture, soul-to-soul dialogue, mutual second nation leading to creative unification where no one way of life will impose its way of life on the other, no matter how good it may seem.

R. Mukerie

1 May we propose, Mr. Commissioner,
2 that we enter this process immediately. For example,
3 how is it that we speak only of developing the great
4 north but practically never of indigenizing and naturizing
5 the south? Isn't this a sign that we think our civili-
6 zation superior to that of the native peoples? One of
7 the uncontested assumptions of our western culture is
8 that the north must progress and therefore, the earth
9 must be mastered, transformed, developed. But other
10 people start from the very different assumption that
11 the earth, north and south, east and west, is not
12 so much a domain to develop as a mother that we must
13 harmonize with. They refuse to sell their mother, to
14 own her by private or common property, to claim rights
15 to her, to negotiate her. Romantic? Utopian? Dreaming?
16 It is so only for those who fail to move out of their
17 cultural hypnosis and refuse this non-property dimension
18 of themselves.

19 How is it that we speak only
20 of the rights of the natives to the land, while
21 traditionally they never had the feeling that the earth
22 could belong to anyone, not even to themselves? Can we
23 not learn from them part of the truth, namely, that we
24 belong to the earth and that it is she who possesses us?
25 This is a language that has become so incomprehensible
26 to the dominant society that the natives are now forced
27 to speak of their land rights and land claims in order
28 to be understood and to protect the mother of us all.

29 How can they outwardly claim
30 their rights to land, signed agreements, and all justice

and equity, without feeling inwardly that they are prostituting and violating their mother and their culture? Can we not see the dangerous implications of such one-sided language, not only for the native lifestyle but also for our own, collective attitude towards this earth?

Many would like to think that the erosion of the native cultures is due exclusively to the greedy, profit-making attitude of the multinational corporations and to the backing they receive from the individualistic peoples, both south and north. They would like to replace this selfish development with a development according to justice, solidarity and equity, all well and good, except that such a position still rests, oftentimes unconsciously, on the well-rooted myth of development. We feel, however, that it is not only the myth of profit-making that must be questioned, but also that of development, no matter how equitable and just it may be. As long as we continue to set development as always primary in our relationship to nature, we shall continue to destroy not only the natives, but ourselves. We shall have to learn from the natives that mother earth is also our flesh and blood and that a great part of our growth as human beings consists, not in developing anything, but in harmonizing with what is and in accepting ourselves as we are. This means accepting all our dimensions, the other cultures, the animals, the plants, the lakes, the forests and mountains. In other words, we do not need only northern and southern development--we also need

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northern and southern naturization and indigenization.

What orientation, Mr.

Commissioner, should our dialogue take? Northern and southern development, according to justice and solidarity? Indigenization of the south and of the north, according to the medicine wheel? We say both. Each and all of us, as we become aware of our needs, both of this indigenization and of development, shall search and grow together, not only according to the positive side of the dominant society's outlook, nor only according to the positive side of the traditional vision of the natives, but according to these two complimentary dimensions of our common life as they enter into mutual fecundation and symbiosis. It is not, therefore, simply a question of financial or legal negotiations, of territorial claims, or of a return to nature. It is a question of seeking together what is the good life, with the conviction on both sides that no one, neither whites nor dark nor native have the monopoly of the answer nor even of the question.

The dialogue must be set at the above-mentioned level but the great calamity of this hour of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is that the dialogue does not seem to be set at that level. How is it, for example, that land claims have to be fought exclusively in the dominant society's Courts of justice and according to its legal system and not also in the log houses of the natives, according to their medicine wheel? Northern development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is not simply a question of the survival of the

R. Mukerie

modern southern way of life nor of the survival of the traditional native lifestyle but a question of our common survival of human beings both north and south. We could be on the verge of pursuing, in the name of law, democracy, justice, and development, and in a blatantly unconscious manner, the destruction, not only of the native peoples and of their culture, but also of the fundamental dimensions of our human existence.

C'est pourquoi, Monsieur le Commissionnaire,*-- I shall

end our brief by quoting from your own text; I think it should be quoted here publicly again, the text that you presented at the annual Corry lecture at Queens University on the 25th of November. We think it's in tune with our consideration and I would like to share this text again here publicly. You stated at that occasion:

"We Canadians think of ourselves as a northern people. Maybe we have at last begun to realize that we have something to learn from the races of people who have managed to live for centuries in the north - people who never did seek to change the environment but rather to live in harmony with it. Maybe we have begun to realize we have something to learn from those who have gone north from southern Canada to make the north their home and maybe it is time the metropolis listened to the voices in the frontier, time the metropolis realized it has something to learn from

R. Mukerie

1 * C'est pourquoi, monsieur le
2 Commissaire, nous du Centre Monchanin demandons d'a-
3 bord à cette Commission que contrairement à ce qui
4 s'est fait dans le projet de la Baie James ici au
5 Québec, où les développeurs ont arrêté lorsqu'il était
6 trop tard pour écouter et apprendre, on déclare offi-
7 ciellement un moratoire sur le projet de la vallée
8 du Mackenzie et qui dure jusqu'à ce que le dialogue
9 que nous avons proposé soit terminé, et nous demandons
10 ensuite aux deux parties en cause, à savoir les
11 développeurs de la société dominante et les harmonisa-
12 teurs de la culture autochtone d'entrer dans ce dialo-
13 gue plein de sens.

14
15 Réveillons-nous avant qu'il
16 ne soit trop tard et assoyons-nous ensemble, parta-
17 geons nos visions et nos expériences complémentaires du
18 monde et grandissons ensemble sur cette portion tra-
19 ditionnelle et moderne du monde que certains appellent
20 Canada.

R. Mukerie

1 Old Crow and Hay River because what happens in
2 the north will be of great importance to the
3 future of our country. It will tell us what
4 kind of a people we are."

5 Thank you, Mr. Commissioner.

6 (WITNESS ASIDE)

7 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
8 I'd like to file two further briefs with you. There's
9 a brief from Francis Aboud, A-B-O-U-D, who's with the
10 Psychology Department at McGill University. His brief
11 involves his thoughts on the psychological effects of
12 the project such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. I'd
13 like to file that. There's another brief from a group
14 called "Save Montreal"; that's not a group of Vancouver-
15 ites, sir, that's a group called "For Montreal" who are
16 an urban conservation group representing 30 citizens
17 in professional organizations in the greater Montreal
18 area and they have some views and I'll file their brief.

19 MR. COMMISSIONER: Before Mr.
20 Waddell calls the next witness, let me just say that
21 it is unfortunate that we do not have the time to allow
22 all of you who prepared briefs to present them in public
23 here. That is, because we felt we could only allow one
24 month for these hearings in southern Canada, we have to
25 return to Yellowknife in mid-June to hear further
26 evidence on social and economic impact and the relation-
27 ship of those matters to the whole question of native
28 claims. We portion the time in each city according
29 to the number of requests we had received in advance
30 from persons and organizations who wished to present

Mrs. Mary Langston

1 briefs, so we could only spend a limited time in each
2
3 place and we divided up the time in the way I've
4
5 indicated. But even if you do not have an opportunity
6 of presenting your brief in public here, my staff and
7 I are examining all of the briefs that are filed with
8 use^{or} mailed to our offices in Yellowknife or in Ottawa.
9 We receive many in that way and I want you all to know
10 even if you do not get a chance to speak here today that
11 the time and trouble you've taken to set down your
12 opinions will not have been lost on us because we are
13 examining and considering all of the briefs that we
14 received. I think that^{if} you have been here the two days
15 that we have been holding hearings in Montreal, you will
16 appreciate that certain predominant themes have been
17 struck by those speaking on each side of this issue and
18 it may well be that some of the things that you intended
19 to say in your brief have been said by others, though
20 not in the same way that you intended to do. So if you
21 will bear with us and appreciate the concern we have to
22 be fair to all and to get round the country and still
23 return to Yellowknife by mid-June, you'll appreciate
24 why we couldn't hear all of you in public. So carry on,
25 Mr. Waddell.

26
27 MR. WADDELL: Yes, sir. The
28 next brief is from Mrs. Mary Langston.

29 MRS. MARY LANGSTON, sworn:

30 THE WITNESS: Justice Berger,
I appreciate the fact that our Federal Government has
initiated this Inquiry and that, as far as possible, all

Mrs. Mary Langston

1 points of view are being presented. My brief is of
2 necessity, confined to generalizations. My knowledge
3 of the Arctic and its people, the environment and of
4 all the issues involved in the proposed building of this
5 pipeline is limited. I begin in quoting in part from
6 an item that appeared in the Montreal Gazette, May 17th,
7 1976:

8 "ANCHORAGE, Alaska (AP) - Completion of the 7
9 billion dollar Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline may be
10 delayed because state and federal overseers
11 disagree with pipeline builders on the quality
12 of about 1,700 steel pipe welds already installed.

13
14 The varying interpretations of pipe welds are
15 contained in a 4.5 million audit of the 35,600
16 x-rays, or radiographs of welds made to date on
17 the 48-inch-wide pipeline, which is more than
18 one-half installed. Installation of the full
19 800 miles of pipe, which will stretch from
20 Prudhoe Bay on the Arctic Coast to Valdez on the
21 Gulf of Alaska is to be completed December 31st.

22
23 The audit was conducted by Alyeska Pipeline
24 Service Company, the consortium of eight major
25 oil companies building the pipeline. A summary
26 of its results was obtained Friday by The
27 Associated Press.

28
29 Robert Miller, a spokesman for Alyeska, said the
30 audit examiners found 1.950 'welding discontinu-

Mrs. Mary Langston

ities'. But 250 of those already have been corrected, he said. About 28 more disputed radiographs indicated cracks in welds and Miller said Alyeska will voluntarily repair those. He said that he is quite sure none of the 28 cracked welds are located at river crossings along the pipeline.

That leaves a total of 1,672 welds in dispute."

Is the Canadian Government listening as this ominous note is sounding, or is it operating on the principle that it can't happen here?

I realize that the type of construction being used in Alaska differs from that of proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. However, I am certain that the Alyeska Company assured the Government of Alaska and the other states that they had taken every precaution to protect the land on which the pipeline is being built. Yet with only half of the pipeline completed they are already in trouble and if our Federal Government allows the pipeline to be built anywhere in our Arctic, without a long, careful look at all the possible effects of such a pipeline, then we are in trouble.

The study of the environment is in its infancy. It will be many years hence before environmentalists really know what the effects will be on the land, the sea, and their inhabitants, of a pipeline built anywhere in our Arctic regions. The

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1 complexities of the problems which will arise from the
2 building of such a pipeline is staggering. The disas-
3 ters which could occur are terrifying.

4 We have polluted our southern
5 waters to such an extent that whole species of fish
6 are endangered. Those fish that have survived are, in
7 many places, poisoned to such an extent that the people
8 who eat them are becoming ill with terrible, terminal
9 illnesses such as mercury poisoning.

10 Canadian Governments haven't
11 as yet solved these problems. Now they are allowing
12 multinational oil companies, at a small price, to
13 explore and possibly exploit our non-renewable resources
14 at an unknown cost to our land, our people and our
15 future.

16 Are we to be forever "hewers
17 of wood and drawers of water?" Are we forever to stand
18 quietly and politely by while someone else grabs our
19 wealth and runs, to leave us with nothing but a ruined
20 and ravaged land?

21 I am aware of the energy crisis.
22 Instead of risking irreparable damage to our land and
23 our people why doesn't the Federal Government initiate
24 some realistic alternatives, such as those suggested in
25 an article by Douglas Fullerton, which appeared in the
26 "Montreal Gazette" of Tuesday, May 18th, 1976. I quote
27 the article in its entirety, as it seems to me that
28 Mr. Fullerton states the case for positive, constructive
29 thinking extremely well.

"OTTAWA - The government report on energy is a

Mrs. Mary Langston

1 diappointment. Rather than providing clearly
2 expressed and tough policies to deal with a
3 serious energy problem, the report lulls us to
4 sleep with long-winded sentences, full of
5 bureaucratic jargon, describing various alter-
6 native scenarios and strategies.

7
8 Come on, Alastair Gillespie, if the problem is
9 as serious as you suggest - and I believe you -
10 then the public has a right to be given its
11 medicine straight.

12
13 I know that the problem of leadership is com-
14 pounded by the division of responsibility between
15 the provinces and the Federal Government.

16
17 Many provincial leaders, concerned about the
18 particular impact of the energy problem on their
19 constituents, have taken positions at variance
20 with national energy objectives.

21
22 Yet it is not beyond the wit of man - nor of
23 the Federal Government - to cope with these
24 obstacles. One way is to bring the conflict into
25 full public view; another is to provide benefits,
26 such as tax concessions, to offset rising energy
27 costs."

28 As a summary of the issues,
29 the report is admirable. It points out that our
30 prosperity-induced consumption of oil and electricity,

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1 the two main sources of energy, has been growing at an
2 unsustainable rate during the past 15 years.

3 We have nearly exhausted our
4 resources of cheap hydroelectric power; our reserves of
5 oil and gas are much lower than we had thought them to
6 be even a few years ago, and our discovery of new
7 reserves has been steadily declining. These facts,
8 coupled with the sharp rise in the cost of imported
9 oil, have brought us to the crisis point.

10 Obviously, we must cut the
11 rate of increase in our energy consumption; the report
12 acknowledges that prices can play a part when it
13 postulates its high-priced and low-priced scenarios.
14 "High-priced" means oil at current international levels.

15 Yet nowhere in the report did I
16 see any calculation to the effect of really raising
17 gasoline prices, by taxation, to the \$1.50 to \$2.00 per
18 gallon now common all over Europe. Why not? Autos
19 consume 15% of our energy requirements, and over a third
20 of the scarcest product of all, oil.

21 We seem to be saying that we
22 are in a major war, but that our people couldn't possibly
23 be expected to pay the price.

24 I have noted the importance of
25 gasoline prices in the consumers' price index. Why not
26 offset this by income tax cuts, at least to the extent
27 that these higher oil prices reduce the need for a
28 federal subsidy? Or by special grants to the hardest-
29 hit eastern provinces?

30 No, the report falls back on
tighter mileage standards for new cars.

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Each automobile manufacturer and importer with significant sales volumes in Canada will be required to meet sales-weighted fleet-average targets of at least 24 miles per gallon by 1980 and 33 m. p. gallon by 1985. This would produce a lower total of gasoline consumption in 1985 than in 1975. Great - but we know how far actual performances stray from specified levels for each automobile.

And what about federal subsidies for urban public transits?

No better way exists for getting commuters out of these cars - the Europeans are going all out on this - but what we have from Federal Government up to now is a lot of talk and political promises but precious little action.

As for electricity, provincial policies have been straight out of Alice in Wonderland. If we no longer see those persuasive "Live Better Electrically" slogans, urging us to heat electrically and buy more appliances, most provinces are still selling electric power at below replacement cost.

Electricity for heating is particularly expensive, because of big variations in demand over the year; this required very substantial capacity to meet the peak load.

In some provinces, such as Newfoundland, where there is little industrial demand to balance home heating peaks, the cost of new generation capacity to heat one small house may be of the order of 20,000 dollars or more.

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In many countries much higher prices are charged for power used at peak periods, inducing a spread in demand, and bringing enormous savings in the cost of generating equipment. What does the report say about this? A sentence worthy of MacKenzie King.

"Careful evaluation will be required in order to determine whether pricing policies, which place a premium on electricity use at a time of total system peak demand, can result in a re-allocation of electricity use over time that will allow a given demand to be satisfied more economically and reduce capital requirements."

Our problem in Canada is that we have become much too complacent about our energy resources, and we have been spoiled for too long by cheap gasoline and electricity.

People complain bitterly about climbing energy prices - reminding us all that we are human and will resist remedial action until we are convinced of its urgency.

It is here that the Federal Government has let us down. We don't need strategies or scenarios. We need tough words, calling for tough action - and now.

What is a country? A country is a land and its people. This time let us behave in a truly civilized way by preserving and protecting our land and its people. What else is there?

Thank you.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

Rev. L. A. Scyner

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
I call on the brief of the Anglican Diocese of Montreal.

REV. LAWRENCE A. SCYNER, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
on behalf of the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, and of
approximately 60,000 Anglican churchpeople within this
Diocese, I would like to thank you for the opportunity
of appearing before you, and to express in the name of
this our constituency some of its concerns which relate
to the proposed natural gas pipeline and indeed to the
larger issue of northern development as a whole.

At its annual Synod, held in
Montreal on May 13th and 14th of this year, the Diocese
through its delegates, who numbered more than 300 clergy
and laypeople and who represented some 140 parishes and
congregations in the area, passed the following motion:

"Resolved that this Synod expresses concern for
the environmental and social dangers inherent in
northern development, and wishes to encourage all
Christians to express themselves to their elected
representatives on the matters of justice for the
native peoples of the north; and further endorses
the efforts of particular church groups to express
these concerns to the Berger Commission."

It is therefore with this
mandate and also with the mandate of the National
Executive Council of the National Anglican Church that
I appear before you.

As Christians we recognize that

Rev. L.A. Scyner

1 we may have a particular understanding of life and a
2 set of values which do not reflect the majority opinion
3 in the country. Nevertheless we feel constrained to
4 place these concerns before you as Christians who are
5 committed to a belief in the worth and dignity of the
6 human being and in the conservation of God-given
7 resources. We are equally convinced that it is the
8 responsibility of our elected representatives in govern-
9 ment to take full account of these our convictions.

10 We bring to you then, Mr.
11 Commissioner, no detailed technical considerations,
12 but rather ethical concerns related to the rights of
13 native peoples in Canada, to environmental, ecological
14 and social issues which affect the quality of life,
15 not only of our native peoples, but also of people in
16 southern Canada and indeed in the rest of the world.

17 As far as land claims are
18 concerned, we would simply add our support to the
19 position outlined by the Canadian Catholic Conference
20 in its 18th Labour Day Message, entitled

21 "Northern Development - At What Cost?"

22 Any development project in the north must be delayed
23 until the land claims of native peoples have been
24 settled in a just way. Justice demands that the
25 residents of the north not only be consulted prior to
26 the initiation of development projects, but also that
27 they participate effectively in shaping their own
28 regional development and in safeguarding their eco-
29 logical, environmental and indeed, their economic needs.
30 As far as environmental safeguards are concerned, we do

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not yet as have any clear answers regarding the means necessary to protect the ecology of the north and we don't believe either that the government possesses definitive solutions to the problems of ecological protection. It's necessary therefore that time be given, during which environmental technologies can be developed and unbiased appraisals can be formulated, before the initiation of any developmental projects.

Furthermore we believe that the construction of a pipeline poses vast inherent possible dangers to the balance of the ecology, and we recommend that every other means of achieving the same end, that of adequate energy supplies, be explored and seriously considered, before we embark upon a project which is so fraught with known and unknown dangers.

We would want to emphasize that the overriding concern in the matter of energy transportation should be for the quality of life of our northern peoples, and for the security of a precariously balanced environment. Decisions on development projects should not be made simply, or even primarily, on the basis of ^{of} profitability or/economic growth.

The development of our energy resources in the north has been significantly accelerated by the pressure of a consumer ethic in the rest of Canada and North America. We, as Christians, stand committed to a change in this ethic, and to the promotion of attitudes which reflect a conservative and responsible stewardship of energy. We recommend that alternate renewable sources of energy be investigated

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and where feasible developed, and if the government promotes such technologies geared to the harnessing of wind, sun, tides and other sources of energy which do not deplete the environment, and which have but minimal negative impact upon the land ecology.

As individuals we stand prepared to make sacrifices, and to lower our consumption of energy, and we encourage all Canadians to do likewise. However, industry and business must also carry their fair share of responsibility for conservation. We encourage the government to develop means whereby industries and businesses will be obliged to undertake meaningful energy conservation programmes.

In summary, may I state the recommendations that we would like to make to your Commission.

The Synod of the Diocese of Montreal would recommend to the Commission that:

1. Any development project in the north be delayed until the land claims of native peoples are justly settled, and their aboriginal rights honoured.
2. That the people of the north be represented on all decision-making bodies concerned with the development of their region, and that such representation of native and non-native persons be proportional to the population of the given region under study.
3. That the native peoples of the north be accorded the right to negotiate settlements, the terms of which are not dictated by white paternalistic considerations, but rather which reflect the

- 1 principle of indigenous self-determination.
- 2 4. That no pipeline development be initiated until
- 3 sufficient time has been allotted, during which
- 4 adequate environmental technologies and safeguards
- 5 may be developed, and until full satisfaction is
- 6 given that the ecology of the area will not be
- 7 significantly damaged.
- 8 5. That no pipeline be constructed until a thorough
- 9 exploration of every other means of providing
- 10 adequate energy supplies has been undertaken.
- 11 6. That a concerted national effort be undertaken to
- 12 provide massive support for research into the
- 13 development of renewable energy resources.
- 14 7. That the priorities of this nation be reestablished
- 15 squarely upon a concern for the quality of life of
- 16 its people, and for environmental protection, rather
- 17 than upon considerations of economic growth and
- 18 profitability.
- 19 8. That industries be obliged to take a significant
- 20 share in the conservation of energy and that the
- 21 Canadian people be strongly encouraged to reduce
- 22 their consumption of all forms of energy, and indeed
- 23 to accept a lower rate of economic growth.
- 24 9. That realistic royalty and tax provisions be
- 25 established in order to reduce unreasonable profits
- 26 of multinational corporations and government, and
- 27 to ensure a proper return to the Canadian people
- 28 on their non-renewable resources; such a return to be
- 29 spent for the public good.
- 30 10. And that exportation of oil and gas to other nations

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be gradually reduced.

This document from the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Montreal, Mr. Commissioner, has also been examined by the Church in Society Committee of the Montreal Presbytery of the United Church of Canada, and that this Committee, the Church in Society Committee of the United Church of Canada in this area, wishes to express its endorsement and support of the brief.

Thank you.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I'm going to call on Alan Penn, to be followed by Iris Jones, and then by Dr. Gordon Edwards.

ALAN PENN, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner, I would like to take this opportunity of your visit to Montreal to explain and comment upon some of the experience with land claim negotiations in northern Quebec which, I believe, has some bearing upon your hearings on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

I must begin by making it very clear that I speak as a private citizen and that I do not claim to represent the views of any particular organization, native or otherwise, in what I am about to say. However, I should say something about my background. I have worked for the last three and a half years in an advisory capacity to the James Bay Cree in the course of their negotiations towards a land

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1 claim settlement in northern Quebec. I am now, as an
2 employee of the Grand Council, involved in the implemen-
3 tation of the James Bay Agreement, as it has come to be
4 known. My experience has been primarily in the areas of
5 setting aside lands for the Crees, in determining land
6 regimes applicable to them, and with certain other
7 regimes relating to game management and environmental
8 protection.

9 I have come here today neither
10 to defend nor to condemn the settlement reached in
11 northern Quebec. Instead, I have come simply to comment
12 on what I perceive as certain essential differences be-
13 tween northern Quebec and the present situation in the
14 Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and, hopefully more
15 important, to point out certain aspects of the experience
16 gained in northern Quebec which should not be overlooked
17 if we are to understand the problems now faced by the
18 communities of the Mackenzie Valley. However, it is
19 only fair for me to say that as an individual I do have
20 a commitment to the James Bay Agreement and that, again
21 as an individual, I am very much concerned that the
22 administrative regimes established by that agreement
23 be put to work in a manner which serves the best inter-
24 ests of the Cree and Inuit peoples for whom they were
25 designed.

26 I also want to make it clear
27 that I am convinced that the substance of the James Bay
28 Agreement conforms much more closely to the aspirations
29 of the Cree communities than is sometimes assumed by
30 outsiders, and I know that the level of details for

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1 example in respect to hunting and fishing rights, was
2 something specifically sought by the local communities.

3 I have tried to follow the
4 progress of your Inquiry in the course of its many
5 visits to the Arctic communities and to derive from the
6 reports in the media some sense of what is being said
7 and discussed. The overriding impression I have is that
8 the Indian and Inuit groups affected by the pipeline
9 and its related activities would like to see a land
10 claim settlement before the development of a pipeline
11 corridor. This interests me particularly because it
12 represents the opposite of the situation in James Bay
13 in which, in fact, the development came first and the
14 land claim settlement was to some extent built around
15 it. This is, to me, an intriguing difference and one
16 which deserves careful examination. However, it does
17 occur to me that the concept of a land claim settle-
18 ment has to some extent been detached from the day-
19 to-day economic and social realities of northern life,
20 and that there has been a tendency, at least in the
21 media, to assume that the settlement will offer the
22 required solution to the problem, without at the same
23 time stating clearly what the problem is that the
24 settlement is intended to respond to. There also
25 seems to be an assumption that discussion will end
26 once a land claim settlement is signed - although my
27 experience is that the signature is, in some way, only
28 the beginning.

29 It follows from what I have
30 just said that most of my remarks are related to three

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1 questions: What is a native claims settlement and
2 what interests do such settlements serve? What is the
3 effect of settling a land claim before the development
4 giving rise to the claim takes place? And finally,
5 what does the substance of the James Bay Agreement have
6 to do with the situation in the Mackenzie Valley?

7 Let me comment first upon the
8 concept of a land claim settlement, without dwelling
9 on the constitutional and moral questions involved in
10 the treaty-making process. It has always seemed to me
11 that the native communities that I know tend to see
12 land claim issues in terms of the protection or enhance-
13 ment of their livelihood, in particular the livelihood
14 of their children and of future generations. The people
15 involved are concerned, if you like, that the rights be
16 recognized in law - not so much because codification
17 itself has any special significance for them, but
18 because they desire the governments understand their
19 way of life and the importance of the economic and
20 social decisions which they face in their everyday
21 lives, and with this understanding, take suitable
22 measures which would make possible the aspirations of
23 the individual Cree.

24 In practice then - again,
25 speaking only from my own experience - the settlement
26 of claims is identified with recognizing and giving
27 effect to rights, which means recognizing and making
28 possible the economic and social opportunities which
29 the people are seeking for themselves and for their
30 descendants. In negotiations, at least in James Bay,

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1 this was translated into a search for ways to protect,
2 both socially and economically, an important and
3 extensive subsistence economy while at the same time
4 providing for improved access to sources of wage
5 employment and local entrepreneurial activity. It was
6 very much a combined approach, the intention being to
7 retain for the individual the choice of his own parti-
8 cular mix of lifestyles. Examining the text of the
9 Agreement, you find that, in accordance with these
10 objectives, the administrative structure of the agree-
11 ment is designed to promote the delivery of services
12 which would make these combined objectives possible -
13 despite a certain imprecision and lack of clarity which
14 seems to be inherent in the negotiating process. Some
15 of the particular devices that were chosen to do this
16 I will mention a little later.

17 The point that I want to make
18 here - and I know it is one that many do not readily
19 accept - is that at the level of the isolated northern
20 native community, remote from stable and sustained
21 sources of revenue and very much concerned with the
22 future of a subsistence economy which provides the core
23 of their system of societal values - the important
24 issues do not revolve so much around control and decision-
25 making authority as ends in themselves, so much as
26 around the direct participation in the administrative
27 procedures of governments which determine the quality
28 of the services they receive in the communities them-
29 selves and which determine the security and stability of
30 life on the land. Control and decision-making authority

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1 certainly emerge as important - but as a means to
2 bolster the local economy, improve the quality of the
3 local administration of services, and provide a measure
4 of protection for their use of the land.

5 I am afraid that too often in
6 discussions on native land claims, I have heard it
7 argued that the objective itself is the acquisition of
8 control and decision-making authority, without concern
9 as to what these powers and responsibilities will be
10 used to do. Ultimately, surely, the real test is the
11 quality of the community lifestyle and the quality of
12 the local participation in the administrative process
13 which makes that lifestyle possible?

14 When I look back to the James
15 Bay negotiations, and remember the tribulations involved
16 then, and even now in putting the agreement to work, I
17 realize of course that it is one thing to set out the
18 principles as I have just done, and quite another to
19 put them into effect. Nevertheless, the James Bay
20 Agreement, with all the blemishes so well-known to those
21 who have worked with it, does go a long way towards
22 setting up a series of regimes designed with a great
23 deal of care to serve the interests voiced at the level
24 of the community. However, I think it would be a mis-
25 take to regard the James Bay Agreement as something
26 essentially static - in practice, the agreement serves
27 as a simple framework on which the Cree and the Inuit
28 must build, and I think it will be well worthwhile
29 following what happens to the agreement in the course
30 of its implementation. The greatest mistake of all, in

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1 my opinion, would be to think that the mere signature
 2 of an agreement is a solution in its own right - instead,
 3 everything, almost everything, turns out to depend on
 4 implementation - and implementation will determine
 5 whether negotiated regimes thrive and prosper or wither
 6 and fail, unused and unrespected.

7 The second of my questions has
 8 to do with the effect of negotiating a land claim
 9 settlement before development takes place - of course
 10 an ideal only partly realisable. Here, my remarks will
 11 be very brief. I want to say only that in the specific
 12 case of the James Bay Crees and the La Grande hydro-
 13 electric development, the Cree were faced with a major
 14 hydroelectric project already in the course of construc-
 15 tion and were obliged to fashion an agreement which
 16 took this and other related developments into account.
 17 Those who were involved, I believe, were convinced of
 18 two things on this matter. First, that you cannot draft
 19 an agreement which ignores the immediate economic and
 20 social impacts of anticipated or concurrent development
 21 without running the risk of really mistaking the issues
 22 and failing to buffer the communities against what is
 23 often, to be quite honest about it, the most serious
 24 impact of all - the disruption and inversion of a
 25 local economy in the face of major regional/industrial
 26 development. Second, developers in general, and I
 27 suppose certain Crown corporations in particular, have
 28 objectives which assuredly do not coincide with those
 29 of the native people and there is little point in
 30 assuming that they do. Designing a settlement around

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1 existing developments is a process of compromise, often
2 a painful experience, but one which teaches many lessons
3 and opens many pathways.

4 My personal opinion, in summary,
5 is that a number of shortcomings can be found in the
6 James Bay Agreement on this score, but that in general
7 it makes very good sense to fashion^{the} settlement with
8 a pretty clear idea of the nature of the specific
9 developments and related economic and social pressures
10 which will affect the communities at the receiving end
11 of the agreement.

12 I will turn now to my final
13 remarks, which concern the question of what the content
14 of the James Bay Agreement has to do with the issues
15 being discussed in and around the Mackenzie Valley.
16 I will have to be brief, but I hope not trivial. The
17 recent historical circumstances and cultural differ-
18 ences involved are very different. Nevertheless, there
19 are common themes present which I think can be identi-
20 fied. I will concentrate on three elements which seem to me
21 to be particularly striking.

22 First, a major element of
23 concern both of the native peoples of northern Quebec
24 and of the Northwest Territories and Yukon has been the
25 protection of and support for the subsistence economy.
26 This was reflected in the emphasis on developing
27 trappers' associations, but to me the essential question
28 here is one which does not seem to have been directly
29 tackled by government officers responsible for game
30 management - and that is, how do you manage game resources

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1 while at the same time recognizing and protecting both
2 subsistence and sporting interests in those game
3 resources? I think the approach in northern Quebec is
4 both novel and promising; the three basic elements of
5 the policy there have been first to determine the
6 present level of use of wildlife resources by the
7 native people and use this level as the basis of a
8 guaranteed level of harvesting; secondly, the creation
9 of a Co-ordinating Committee involving representation
10 of local communities directly on what amounts to a
11 Technical Board responsible for designing and drafting
12 game regulations for northern Quebec, involving both
13 federal and provincial representation; and thirdly, the
14 setting aside of exclusive areas where only native
15 people may hunt and fish in tandem with a principle
16 which establishes the right of native people to hunt
17 and fish everywhere those activities are physically
18 possible, subject to the principle of conservation.
19 This is to simplify a complex and subtle regime - the
20 main point is that the combination of these three
21 components provides a basis for developing game
22 management techniques which take into account and
23 respect subsistence activities rather than tolerate
24 them through oversight or evasion.

25 A second illustration could,
26 I think, be drawn from the topic of local government
27 and its treatment under the agreement. The Cree (and
28 there is a distinction here to be made between the Cree
29 and the Inuit) sought what they believed to be the
30 protection of shared federal and provincial jurisdiction

by remaining under a Federal Statute, a Cree Act now in the course of negotiations, with Indian reserve lands, but at the same time having other lands under a provincial municipal corporation. This was a device which was intended to provide a measure of protection for the local government, at the same time as providing for eventual integration with the Provincial Cities and Towns Act. To me, an interesting aspect of this approach is the built-in procedure which allows, if the individual community so desires, for a period of transition as the local government grows in confidence and experience and gradually assumes, or has delegated to it, greater and greater responsibilities. Of course, it remains to be seen what will happen, but the interesting concept here, to me, is that a mechanism is created for promoting the development of responsible local authorities through a process of staged transfer of responsibilities, rather than an immediate assumption of heavy and unfamiliar duties.

A third aspect of the James Bay Agreement, and the last I shall consider and one which seems to have some relevance to the N.W.T. is the concept of the advisory body. This is a mechanism for involving local communities (and their local governments) directly in the process of regional administration of certain kinds of services by means of advisory bodies which involve both the Federal and Provincial Departments implicated, and which creates an interesting and unusual opportunity for direct participation of the small, isolated community in the administrative processes which

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1 affect it. The co-ordinating Committee, mentioned
2 above, is one such body: others are a regional education
3 authority, a Health Board, a set of reviewing authori-
4 ties responsible for future environmental and social
5 protection, and several other structures which provide
6 for collaboration between the Crown and its agents and
7 the local communities in the effective delivery of
8 social services and in the various aspects of a regional
9 administration which daily touch the lives of peoples
10 whose activities traditionally cover such a wide area
11 of land. Of course, all the agreement does is set out
12 the principles of operation of these Boards and define their
13 responsibilities - whether or not they work in practice
14 will depend entirely on their manner of implementation
15 and the extent to which government and native people
16 see them as effective channels of communication.

17 This completes what I have to
18 say. I hope I have been able to make the case that
19 although the James Bay Agreement was negotiated under
20 very different circumstances to those of the Mackenzie
21 Valley Pipeline development, there are nevertheless
22 certain aspects of that development which are relevant
23 to the nature of aspirations of the native people in
24 the Northwest Territories and which, I believe, warrant
25 careful examination by those concerned with the conse-
26 quences of land claim settlements. I thank you very
27 much for the opportunity to speak at this Inquiry.

28 (WITNESS ASIDE)

29 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
30 the next brief is from Iris Jones. There was a person

Mrs. Iris Jones

1 to give a brief, Francois Thibodeault and there's a
2 telegram from Mr. Thibodeault and perhaps I can read it
3 in after Mrs. Jones' brief.

4
5 MRS. IRIS JONES, sworn:

6 THE WITNESS: Mr. Justice
7 Berger and Mr. Waddell, ladies and gentlemen, I have
8 attempted to show here the pipeline in the context of
9 Canadian history and it is a long brief and I will have
10 to take little spots out of it, so I would appreciate
11 it if you would make it a special point to read it in
12 its entirety. I would say that my interest in this
13 became rather personal, when, on the 22nd of April, 1970,
14 I appeared at the Academy of Natural Sciences meeting
15 on a so-called 'Earth Day' in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
16 where I was living at the time that the "Manhattan"
17 freighter made its epic trip.

18 I was there because I saw that
19 the Earth Day had absolutely nothing about the north
20 on its programme. It was also interesting that the
21 man who was supervising this was Walter Hickel. I
22 didn't understand this and so I took and made a leaflet,
23 harmless enough, and I made a display of oil company
24 wells and so on in the Arctic and I took my stand at
25 the Academy of Natural Science, but they didn't want
26 me. They called the police, and the only, the interven-
27 tion of a woman there who was not in favor of Hickel's
28 position stopped me from being arrested. Needless to
29 say, I began to wonder exactly what was going on.

30 "The mainland of America, from the Amazon River to

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1 the Oronoco, and the islands called the(inaudible)
2 possessed by France, and in Canada, Acadia,
3 Newfoundland and other islands and pieces of the
4 main from the north of the said country of Canada
5 as far as Virginia and Florida, together with
6 the coast of Africa from the Cape Verde as far
7 as the Cape of Good Hope, as much and as far as
8 it may expand into these countries, whether the
9 said lands belong to us by virtue of being or of
10 having been inhabited by Frenchmen, or whether
11 the said company establishes itself there by dis-
12 lodging or calling into submission the savages or
13 indigenous people living in said countries or
14 dislodging the other nations of Europe which are
15 not our allies, which lands we have conceded and
16 do concede to the said company in full senioral
17 right, property, and justice."

18 This is the mandate to the
19 French West Indies Company which was given to that
20 company in May of 1664 in which New France was literally
21 handed over to another monopoly with exclusive rights
22 of trade and navigation. I will skip other things.

23 We come to another statement -
24 in 1852, Benjamin Disraeli said:

25 "The colonies are a millstone around our neck."
26 Britain was supreme in the industrial field at that
27 time but this did not last. Other European countries
28 were now entering the competitive field; a new view was
29 needed. This was eloquently expressed by that arch-
30 imperialist Cecil Rhodes, in 1895:

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"I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to wild speeches which were just a cry for bread and on my way home, I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism. My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, that is, in order to save the 40 million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and the mines.

The empire, I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid a civil war, you must become imperialists."

Some years later, in 1905, Wyle wrote in the book called: "France in the Colonies":

"Owing to the growing complexities of life and the difficulties which weigh, not only on the masses of workers, but also on the middle classes, the impatience, irritation, and hatred are accumulating in all the country and are becoming a menace to public order.

The energy which is being hurled out of the definite class channel must be given employment abroad in order to avert explosion at home."

How well Canada knows how these countries practice this policy and still do. How many millions of people have we received here for basically this very reason. It is

indeed a curious thing to see in these latter times, other members in the Third World adopting this very practice as a solution to their own problems and, speaking of Third World countries, I think it's extremely interesting that, year after year after year, the products of Trinidad, Tobago are sugar and petroleum products, sugar and petroleum products, sugar and petroleum products.

"The half-breeds are natives. They are the occupants and they are ^{the} representatives of the first owners of the soil with whom no satisfactory arrangement has ever been made."

Statement of Red River Metis, 1860.

"Minnesota alone is able to hold, occupy and possess the Valley of the Red River to Lake Winnipeg."

James (inaudible) agent of the United States Government. 1861.

(?)
"From the Polar Sea to the Isthmus of Beria, there will be in time but one government--Canada, Rupert's Land, British Columbia, Mexico will have but one flag and eventually Cuba and her sister islands will join us."

The "New York Sun."

" If your people are hungry, let them eat grass."
U.S. Indian agent to Sioux Chief Littlecrow, 1862.

" The purchase of Alaska is a flank movement. In the northwest, there will be a hostile Cockney with a watchful Yankee on each side of him."
1867, the "New York Tribune."

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Meanwhile, the CPR Company was forcing a railway through. Naturally, the financiers, the engineers, the equipment suppliers, the steel and many of the labourers were all imports. The company was granted 25 million acres of land in the northwest. By 1883, there was another depression, crop-failure and inability of Steven to sell CPR shares on the foreign markets. Rival firms had some money markets closed to the CPR, creditors in New York were pressing for payment, steamers from Scotland were brought to haul supplies on the lakes, finally loans were obtained in Edinburgh. Land was being parcelled out, no doubt at a profit to the speculators, ranches of over 100,000 acres each were being used to help supply the workers and settlers with food. Coal was found. British nobility was doing its best to relieve the tensions over there by sending in immigrants. The government was penny-pinching in every direction. There were not enough money. Unfortunately, there were cutbacks for ^{and} the Indians in schools/on their reserves. They were already undermined because of the unforgiveably brutal tactic of starving them onto the reserves as the Sioux had been starved to make them return to the United States.

Theopold , Big Bear and Little Pine did not forget. They became leaders of the Northwest Rebellion.

"The Indian understood not the treaty. He was then rich. The Governor Morris comes and tells the Indian: 'We come here to borrow the country'."

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Twenty-fourth of August, 1885.

Although the Manitoba Act of 1870 reserved 1 million 400 thousand acres of land for the Metis, the allotment did not begin until 1873. Land script was issued and often enough, promptly bought by white settlers. The Metis moved to the banks of the Saskatchewan River where they still did not follow the division of land that was foreign to them. The clergy and others kept sending warnings down the line to Ottawa. Riel returned. A statement of demands were sent to Ottawa and reached the colonial office in London. John A. MacDonald claimed not to have seen it. Was it because he was so concerned about the finances and bankruptcy and so on or was he told to ignore it by higher powers? Why is it that apart from the usual devious channels of bureaucracy, the governments of Canada have been so hard to reach for the ordinary person, that is? Why is it that they may hear, but do nothing? Certainly, some members are from elsewhere and many of them do not call this home and especially this was so in the 1800's. But the answer lies in the fact of outside political and economic control.

People on this level reached government members and reached them very fast. Why? They hold the reins of decision and policy and this is determined by their own interests, not yours, not mine and not the government's. This is the thing of all colonies which is what we are and what we have always been.

In 1884, at the time when Canada

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1 was in an uproar over the effects of the railway
2 promoters and their CPR project and their schemes for
3 land settlement and John A. MacDonald was so preoccupied
4 with the teetering finances in the land and there was
5 a depression in Europe, as well.

6 British, Belgian and German
7 rail manufacturers tried to help each other by agreeing
8 to stop all competition in home markets. They formed
9 a cartel. Foreign markets were divided thus: Britain,
10 66%, Germany 27%, Belgium 7%. In 1886, the market
11 improved, therefore, the cartel collapsed. The finan-
12 cing of the CPR was entwined with that, no doubt. At
13 the same time, the steel manufacturers of the United
14 States, Germany, Austria, and Spain formed a protective
15 syndicate. In 1904, German, British, French, Austrian
16 and Spanish producers all went together to supply, on
17 their own terms, the world's big consumers of rail
18 steel, mainly state railways. What happened, of course,
19 was that as the countries became industrialized, they
20 accrued excess capital. Britain was the first, under-
21 standably, to begin exporting money, finance capital,
22 as well as products of her industry.

23 By 1910, Britain, the United
24 States, France and Germany owned 80% of the entire
25 world's finance capital. The list of 14 countries
26 included Denmark and Rumania - it definitely did not
27 include Canada. On the contrary, in 1916, it was
28 noted that the main spheres of British investment were
29 then in the British colonies, mainly in industry and
30 railways and that Canada was one of those vast colonies.

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France, on the other hand, had done most of her exporting of capital inside the boundaries of Europe, in the sphere of loans to governments. In 1908, France was called the usurer of Europe.

Competition is not well tolerated by big-money capitalists. The answer is to form cartels and trusts which are just other name for monopolies. Sugar trusts are not new. One was founded in 1887 in the United States by the amalgamation of 15 small firms, watering the funds, setting the prices, and gaining 70% profit on the actual capital invested. In 22 years, the sugar trust capital had multiplied more than 10 times.

The world oil market in 1905 was divided between two great financial groups: Rockefeller's U.S. Standard Oil Company and Rothschild & Nobell, controlling interests of the Russian oil-fields in Baku. They were closely connected but they felt threatened by Austrian, Rumanian, and foreign Dutch oilfields with connections to British capital under the names of Samuel and Shell.

Big German banks had independently developed the fields in Rumania to have their own interests in the field. The Rockefeller trust formed a daughter company right in Holland and bought out oilfields in the Dutch Indies, having far more capital and a good system of oil transportation and distribution. The German banks were forced to submit and promise not to do anything to hurt United States' interests.

Mrs. Iris Jones

1 There is another solution to
2 the ^{financial} difficulties when the markets are low. In
3 1895, there was another depression.

4 "This country needs a war,"
5 said Theodore Roosevelt of the United States to Henry
6 Cabot Lodge. The Lodge's and the Cabot's were New
7 England slave-trading families. Of course, there had
8 to be an excuse. This was provided by a United States
9 missionary, named Josiah Strong.

10 "The Anglo-Saxon race is chosen by God to civilize
11 the world and the major part of this crusade
12 belongs to the United States."
13 The United States ^{annexed} Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines
14 and Hawaii, Cuba also, for all practical purposes.

15 About this time, the greed of
16 men from all over the world was again set aflame by the
17 discovery of gold in the Klondike. Suddenly, the United
18 States wanted to settle a boundary between Alaska and
19 the Yukon on their terms, cutting Canada off completely
20 from the sea access to her own goldfields. Roosevelt
21 was ready with an army to just go in and take it. He
22 was finally persuaded to agree to arbitration but only
23 if the three United States representatives would be sure
24 not to yield to the Canadian claims. Canadian protests
25 went unheeded as Britain set up the tribunal with one
26 of her own on it to meet in London. Things did not
27 move fast enough. Lodge wrote that:

28 "The Canadians are so stupid they would not
29 yield gracefully."

30 Roosevelt took pains to let the British member know that

Mrs. I. Jones

1 if he voted against the United States, they would send
2 in an army anyway. So much for the panhandle of Alaska.

3 "I have regretted, Mr. Speaker, and never more than
4 on the present occasion, that we are living
5 beside a great neighbour who, I believe I can say,
6 are very grasping in their national actions and
7 who are very determined on every occasion to get
8 the best in any agreement they make. I have often
9 regretted also, that while they are a great and
10 powerful nation, we are only a small colony, a
11 growing colony, but still a colony."

12 Wilfrid Laurier tried to help by setting up a Department
13 of External Affairs but he forgot or could not handle
14 the real problem which is the economic control.

15 It was said in 1905 and nothing
16 has changed since then. "Finance capital does not want
17 liberty, it wants domination". It was also noted very
18 early that proponents of science are all apologists for
19 imperialism and finance capital. The Oil Company Big
20 Bank fiasco of 1905 described above leads us into the
21 next level of control, the banks.

22 In 1914, a man named E. R. (?)
23 published a book entitled:

24 "Big Banks and the World Market".

25 The economic and political significance of the big
26 banks on the world market and with reference to their
27 influence on Russia's national economy and German-Russian
28 relations; he found that more than three-quarters of the
29 working capital of the big banks in Russia at the time
30 were really only daughter banks of foreign banks and the

Mrs. I. Jones

Russian shareholders were powerless. Okay -- so on --

Well, early as 1887 it was noted that the concentration of finance capital in a relatively few hands exacted enormous profits from the floating of companies and stocks and government bonds and

"levies a tribute upon the whole of society."

The financial crisis of 1900 was thought to be instrumental in the massive consolidations of industries and banks. Small, unsound businesses go out of business, companies^{and} banks acquire holdings in them for a very small amount or they gain control by putting in capital for reorganization.

They can and do treat government loans with selective axes. Even the corporations of great size are often at their mercy. They set up science institutes and shuttle the information to their favourite companies and projects. In this matter, they receive no small aid from our universities whose members and ex-members sit on their Boards. They can bring down governments, humiliate and expose at their own whims and for their own aims. They are peculiarly prone to become involved in transportation systems because transportation is often the key to access to what they want.

The time has come for someone with know-how and dedication to bring out into the public table the wheeling and dealing that is going on in all the branches of the transportation field in this country. I'm not talking about sky shops; I'm talking

Mrs. I. Jones

1 about who is really making the decisions about what
2 kind of public transportation we shall have, trains or
3 metros or airlines. Who is making the decisions about
4 Mirabelles and SST's from Europe and why they are sending
5 in people on the first flight to Mirabelle with the
6 plans for a new train system already in their hands.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
8 ma'am, we have rules here that are flexible and much of
9 what you said seems to me goes beyond the latitude of
10 the Inquiry.

11 A No, it doesn't. I was
12 coming to this.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, well
14 I think that in fairness to others who still want an
15 opportunity of saying something, maybe you could leave
16 the brief with me and I'll look at it tomorrow but it
17 may well be that it would be easier for me to absorb
18 it through reading it than have you continue because I
19 think that from what has gone before that you've got a
20 good deal still to cover and some things like the banks
21 and their control over financing and various countries
22 and so forth, are things that really don't concern me
23 in this Inquiry and I --

24 A I'm moving into the
25 economic situation --

26 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, except
27 that it's economic impact in northern Canada that concerns
28 me and I know that, in a sense, everything that goes on
29 in the world is related to everything else that goes on.
30 We have to try to manage this as best we can and so I'd

Mrs. I. Jones

1 appreciate it if you'd leave it with me, but I think
2 we perhaps should ask you to let some others have an
3 opportunity of speaking now.

4 A If I could just look at
5 the Board of Directors of Nova Scotia Bank, Gulf Oil
6 Canada, Newmark Oil & Gas, Alberta Energy Company,
7 Alberta Gas Trunk Lines Company, and the Great Canadian
8 Oil Sands Limited, so they're certainly related. O.K.,
9 it's too bad you don't have the time to hear it because
10 this is what's the problem.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thanks
12 very much.

13 A I am submitting a copy of
14 this book,
15 "Canada's Energy Crisis,"
16 by James Laxer. It completely refutes everything that
17 the Board, the Chamber of Commerce and the oil companies
18 say, and it is a very good example of the kind of thing
19 that's going on in this country, and it's totally
20 completely related to this. Furthermore, this book
21 wasn't so easy to find until I called the publisher
22 and said I couldn't find it, and it still isn't easy
23 to find, and when you read it you'll find out why.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
25 very much.

26 MR. WADDELL: Mrs. Jones, can
27 we get a copy of that brief?

28 (WITNESS ASIDE)

29 Mr. Commissioner, I'd like to
30 file with you another brief that we have, if it's the

Dr. G. Edwards

1 right one. This is from Mr. Edward Debonneau --
2 Father Edward Debonneau from Longeur, and I'd like to
3 file that with you, with Miss Hutchinson for you; and
4 the second brief is from Monsieur Louis Philippe Labrie,
5 and there are a number of people have signed this
6 brief, two pages of signatures. He's from St. John .
7 I'd like to file that as well, Mr. Commissioner.

8 I'd like to also file a
9 telegram from Mr. Thibodeault, if I might; and finally
10 I'd like to call upon Dr. Gordon Edwards of the Canadian
11 Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility. Dr. Edwards?

12
13 DR. GORDON EDWARDS, sworn:

14 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
15 I know the hour is late and I'll try not to take too
16 long. Just three sentences about the Coalition.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: I don't
18 wear a watch so I'll take your word for it.

19 A The Canadian Coalition
20 for Nuclear Responsibility, of which I am one of the
21 founding members, is a coalition of over 60 citizens'
22 groups from coast to coast in Canada, who are concerned
23 about the possible dangers, the serious dangers which
24 many people feel are associated with the vast prolifera-
25 tion of nuclear power plants, which is planned in the
26 near future both in Canada and elsewhere. We are
27 calling for a public enquiry into all aspects of nuclear
28 energy in Canada in order to acquaint the Canadian public
29 with the hazards and the benefits of nuclear power
30 development, and in this connection I would like to

1 congratulate your Commission for its unprecedented
2 efforts to allow the voice of the Canadian people to
3 be heard, and to allow citizens to exercise their
4 citizenship.

5 You may wonder why the Canadian
6 Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility would want to
7 present a brief on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The
8 reason is simple. We have found that, as you yourself
9 have said, the most pressing issues of our time are
10 not independent but inter-related. They are all part
11 of the same overall problem. Everything is connected
12 to everything else. We believe that Canada and the
13 world are in a state of profound crisis and that this
14 crisis is manifested on many different levels. We have
15 an energy crisis, an environmental crisis, an economic
16 crisis, a political crisis, and perhaps a spiritual
17 crisis; and these crises do seem to be related.

18 This disturbing concatenation
19 of crises suggests that there are certain systematic
20 errors at work in our society today which are extremely
21 irrational, and which are ultimately very destructive
22 on whatever level you care to mention. One of the
23 principal errors is the deliberate fragmentation of
24 problems into isolated compartments, each problem to
25 be dealt with only in isolation from all of the others.
26 Divide and conquer, I suppose.

27 In a basically healthy system
28 this might be a sensible approach; but in a system which
29 seems to be so badly out of whack with reality, as our
30 system is at the present time, it can be a disastrous

1 strategy because it concentrates on superficial
2 symptoms and ignores deep-seated causes.

3 At the present time we in
4 Canada are consuming more energy per capita than any
5 other nation in the world. We just recently surpassed
6 the United States in this respect, I understand. Other
7 countries such as Sweden and New Zealand, are consuming
8 only about half as much energy per year as we are,
9 and they have at least as high a living standard as we
10 do. Back in 1966 we in Canada were consuming about
11 half of the electrical energy which we are presently
12 consuming, and I seem to recall that we were at least
13 half as civilized then as we are now, and at least
14 half as affluent.

15 We are now consuming more
16 energy than any civilization on the face of the earth,
17 previously, and yet we are told that we must continue
18 to increase our energy consumption at a very rapid
19 clip or our entire society will come crashing down
20 around our ears. If that is the case, then northern
21 development looks like a very bad bargain, because by
22 the time those northern resources give out, we will
23 be even more desperate than we are today, and the
24 crash will be even more devastating.

25 The fact of the matter is that
26 there are viable alternatives to this hair-brained
27 approach which are safer, cheaper, and cleaner, and
28 which are infinitely more rational than either nuclear
29 energy or northern development, and I will try and
30 explain a little later on as to why I think these two

things are in fact mutually exclusive. The alternatives versus northern development and nuclear.

The first of these alternatives is conservation. By this I do not necessarily mean doing without or even changing lifestyles initially; but merely eliminating waste. If the water is running out of your bathtub faster than it is running in, you may think that you need more water but perhaps all you really need is a good plug. Something similar is true in the field of energy. The Science Council of Canada last year published a report on energy conservation which indicates that we could save as much energy between now and the year 2000 than nuclear power and other sources could possibly deliver in all that time, without any significant changes in lifestyle or patterns of consumption. Imagine what could be done with a more daring approach, which would involve certain changes in lifestyles.

In the case of fluid fuels, such as natural gas, comparable studies have been done and are being done. Let me quote from a more recent Science Council publication,

"The Conserver Society Notes,"
for March, 1976:

"An investment of \$4 billion today to retrofit all residential buildings in Canada would save about 200 million million B.T.U.s or 500 to \$600 million annually in heating bills. Moreover this would save the construction of 200 million million B.T.U.s worth of pipelines, tar sands, and

1 nuclear plants which represents a potential
2 capital cost of \$5 billion over the next
3 15 years."

4 So in other words you're spending \$1 billion less and
5 achieving the same net effect, and not in fact
6 engaging in those particular enterprises.

7 This quotation puts the lie
8 to a widely-held belief that the alternatives to
9 conventional energy sources are more expensive than
10 frontier oil and gas. In fact the economic picture is
11 even more drastically against frontier oil and gas
12 than the quotation would indicate because if you con-
13 sider the entire distribution system needed to actually
14 deliver a barrel of oil or its equivalent, which is
15 about for example 67 kilowatt hours, to the customer
16 from its original source to the customer, counting the
17 entire distribution system, then using figures contained
18 in the Bechtel energy study which was published in the
19 United States last year, you find that whereas in the
20 '50s and '60s, the marginal investment needed to
21 deliver a barrel of oil or its equivalent to a customer
22 was between two and \$3,000, with frontier oil and gas
23 the cost is more like \$20 to \$25,000, of investment
24 capital per barrel delivered.

25 The full weight of this
26 excessively high marginal cost does not show up
27 immediately because it is averaged out with the cost
of other less expensive energy sources. But it does
28 lock people into an energy system with a built-in
29 escalation clause. The costs can only go up as the
3

cheaper reserves are used up.

Besides conservation, there are other alternatives which are already superior to frontier oil and gas in economic terms. There's no way in which I can take the time to go into all of them but I'd like to mention something which I know a bit about, which is solar energy. Solar energy systems are now operating in cold climates such as Norway and Sweden to provide between 70 and 100% of ^{the} space heating and cooling of houses and other buildings.

The Phillips Company is now manufacturing a simple solar collector in Europe which is made of small sections of glass tubing. This solar collector is especially designed to give its best performance on cloudy days in northern climates and the tubing is identical to the tubing which is used in fluorescent lights. I am told that it is one of the cheapest industrial materials that you can buy, pound for pound, it comes off the assembly line at about 30 miles an hour.

In the United States there is actually a roofing material being developed which is cheaper than shingles and which acts as a huge solar collector. Even using existing presently available flat-plate collectors, the Canadian Coalition has done some preliminary calculations which indicate that it would be less expensive to retrofit homes for proper insulation, plus solar systems, than to build multi-billion dollar nuclear plants, or to construct multi-billion dollar pipelines to meet the same energy needs.

Dr. G. Edwards

This could be done using the capital resources which are now being committed to those large-scale short-term projects which offer no hope of any permanent solution whatsoever.

An economist at McGill has recently calculated that the investment needed to retrofit a home in Montreal for 80% energy needs from solar would repay itself within 10 years. If, for example, the problem is that small-scale property owners don't have the capital to invest in such systems. If, however, public utilities natural gas companies or any other suitable agency would accept contracts from private property owners to retrofit homes, apartments, offices, and other establishments, this policy would have the following advantages:

First, the necessary capital would be made available to begin the transition towards a more rational use of energy in our society which does not require expensive and unsightly centralized distribution systems. Second, energy demands themselves would be curtailed, giving more energy return per dollar of investment because a kilowatt or a barrel saved is much cheaper than a kilowatt or a barrel produced. Third, the private citizen could pay off the investment over a 10 or 15 year period just as if he were paying a regular fuel bill. Unlike the regular fuel bill, however, the cost will not go up and once the investment is paid off, the rest is free. Fourth, the utilities and gas companies would require less capital investment in order to do this. The capital itself would create more jobs and the capital would get a quicker return on investments, approximately

Dr. G. Edwards

1 10 years instead of 30 years, which is the average for
2 large-scale systems with less speculation involved.
3 And five, our society would be less vulnerable to
4 interruptions of our energy supply because of the
5 greater degree of individual self-sufficiency.

6 I would recommend, and joining
7 many, many other voices in this, a moratorium on all
8 such large-scale/^{energy}developments until we have arrived at
9 an energy policy which will lead to a sustainable solu-
10 tion to our energy problems and not just a postponement
11 of the inevitable, based on an unrealistic, fragmented
12 approach to social problems. This is an extremely
13 important point because the vast financial and human
14 resources which are being poured into these projects
15 in fact precludes research development and planning
16 towards solving the real problems. Even the most
17 sanguine observers agree that we must develop ultimately
18 a conserver society which runs on renewable resources.
19 This must be done sooner or later. The problem is if
20 we leave it until later, we will be up the creek without
21 a paddle. We have to use the resources we have to dig
22 ourselves out of the hole we are in, not to dig ourselves
23 deeper in.

24 Thank you very much.

25 (WITNESS ASIDE)

26 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
27 I said two, that's all.

28 MR. ROLAND: Mr. Commissioner,
29 comme je l'ai déjà indiqué, Francois Paulette has
30 indicated to me that he wishes to speak on behalf of the

Chief F. Paulette

Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood. Chief
Paulette?

FRANCOIS PAULETTE, resumed:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Berger,
people, I would like to clarify the statement of the
Dene people of the Northwest Territories that has
been expressed in the years.

The position of the Dene
people in the Territories is the position of the Dene.
The Government of the Northwest Territories and the
Government of Canada has imposed a lot of the system,
the establishment on the Dene, and to today, that system
and establishment does not work for the Dene in the
Northwest Territories and therefore, the Government of
the Northwest Territories is not the government of the
Dene, and that the Government of Canada is not the
government of the Dene people in the Northwest Territories
and that the claim of the Dene people in the Territories
is more than a claim and a settlement. The position
of the Dene people of the Territories -- we're going to
determine the future of the people and also the future
of the Canadian north and that Mr. Ciaccia, in
speaking of the James Bay Agreement yesterday and also
Mr. Diamond, on behalf of the ^{Cree} people of the James Bay
and testifying their position, this I will say will not
apply to the people, to the Dene people of the Territories;
that our position as the Dene people is that we want to
control the land which applies to the environment, to the
hunting, to the trapping, to the fishing, and also the

Chief. Paulette

1 social and political and economic structure that we
2 want to have as Dene people in the Territories, and I
3 would like to say again to the people that the position
4 of the Dene people in the Territories as we've expressed,
5 of both the status and the non-status and the Metis, as
6 Dene, that we are going to continue our struggle and
7 our fight to self-determination as Dene of the Northwest
8 Territories. The Minister of the Department of Indian
9 Affairs and Northern Development should not force the
10 Dene people of the Territories in making them come up
11 with an agreement or a comprehensive proposal by
12 November the 1st at the same time we are fighting and
13 opposing other things that are coming up currently on
14 the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and other major develop-
15 ments, at the same time we have to sit down and come up
16 with a proposal. We are going to come up with a proposal
17 on the time that the Dene people want and not by the
18 position of the government. We're going to determine
19 the position of our proposal by the Dene and this is
20 all I would like to say to you this afternoon.

21 Thank you.

22 (WITNESS ASIDE)

23 MR. ROLAND: Sir, a few words
24 concerning our manner of procedure here in Montreal.
25 As a result of the persons and organizations filing
26 their names with the Inquiry, we have scheduled and held
27 three sessions here in Montreal. You have heard 30 oral
28 presentations and we have filed 8 written briefs with
29 the Inquiry. That, sir, concludes our hearings here in
30 Montreal. We recommence ^{our hearings} at the Conference Centre in

1 Ottawa on Thursday, June the 3rd, at 10 a.m.

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, ladies
3 and gentlemen, thank you very much for coming here and
4 let me especially thank those of you who took the time
5 and trouble to prepare briefs and let me say that it was
6 useful to the Inquiry, in particular to hear four briefs, four
7 points of view regarding the James Bay development and
8 the James Bay Agreement. I refer to the briefs presented
9 by Mr. Ciaccia , Chief Delisle, Chief Diamond, and
10 by Mr. Penn. I think that I should simply add that it
11 seems to me to be useful that those of you who hold
12 views very strongly about these matters, it is a good
13 thing that you have been here these two days to hear the
14 views of others who disagree with you but hold their
15 point of view with equal force and fervor. It seems to
16 me that kind of confrontation of ideas in this kind of
17 forum serves the best interests of all of us. So, je
18 vous remercie de votre attention.

19 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JUNE 3, 1976)
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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
 - (b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
- FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Ottawa, Ontario

June 3, 1976

PROCEEDINGS AT COMMUNITY HEARING

Volume 64

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

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APPEARANCES:

Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.
Mr. Ian Waddell, and for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
Mr. Ian Roland, Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C. and
Mr. Darryl Carter, for Canadian Arctic Gas
Pipeline Limited;

Mr. Alan Hollingworth and
Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony and
Pro. Alastair Lucas for Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee;

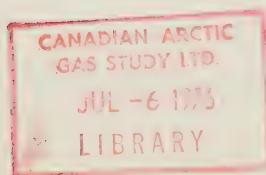
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June 3, 1976

Ottawa, Ontario

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well ladies and gentlemen, we'll call our hearing to order this morning.

The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry is holding a series of hearings in the main urban centers of southern Canada because we received a multitude of requests from people like yourselves who wished an opportunity to be heard on these questions of fundamental national policy.

We in Canada stand at our last frontier. We have some important decisions to make, decisions for which all of us will share a measure of responsibility. Two pipeline companies, Arctic Gas and Foothills Pipe Lines are competing for the right to build a gas pipeline to bring natural gas from the Arctic Ocean to southern Canada and the United States.

The Government of Canada has established this Inquiry to see what the social, economic and environmental consequences will be if the pipeline goes ahead and to recommend what terms and conditions should be imposed if the pipeline is built. We are conducting an Inquiry then about a proposal to build a pipeline along the route of Canada's mightiest river, a pipeline costlier than any in history, a pipeline to be built across our northern Territories, a land where four races of people; white,

1 Indian, Metis and Inuit live, where seven different
2 languages are spoken, the first pipeline in the
3 world to be buried in the permafrost.

4 The pipeline project will not
5 consist simply of a right-of-way. It will take three
6 years to build. It will entail hundreds of miles of
7 access roads over the snow and ice. It will mean that
8 6,000 workers will be needed to build the pipeline
9 and 1,200 more to build the gas plants in the Mackenzie
10 Delta. It will mean pipe barges, wharves, trucks,
11 machinery, aircraft, airstrips. In addition, it will
12 mean enhanced oil and gas exploration and development
13 in the Mackenzie Valley, the Mackenzie Delta and the
14 Beaufort Sea.

15 Now, the Government of Canada
16 has made it plain that the gas pipeline is not to be
17 considered in isolation. In the Expanded Guidelines
18 For Northern Pipelines tabled in the House of Commons,
19 the government has laid it down that we are to proceed
20 on the assumption that if a gas pipeline is built, an
21 oil pipeline will follow, so we must consider the impact
22 of an energy corridor that will bring gas and oil from
23 the Arctic to the mid-continent.

24 It will be for the Government
25 of Canada, when they have my report and the report of the
26 National Energy Board, to decide whether the pipeline
27 should be built and the energy corridor established.
28 These are questions of national policy to be determined
29 by those elected to govern.

30 My task and the task of this

1 Inquiry is to make sure that we understand the con-
2 sequences of what we are doing to enable the Govern-
3 ment of Canada to make an informed judgment.

4 The Inquiry began its hearings
5 on March 3rd, 1975 in Yellowknife, some 15 months ago.
6 Since then, we have held many months of formal hearings
7 listening to the evidence of engineers, scientists,
8 biologists, anthropologists, economists; listening to
9 the people who have made it the work of their life-
10 time to study the north and northern conditions.

11 The environment of the Arctic
12 has been called fragile. That may or may not be true.
13 Arctic species certainly are tough. They have to be
14 to survive but at certain times of the year, especially
15 when they are having their young, they are vulnerable.
16 So if you build a pipeline from Alaska along the Arctic
17 coast of the Yukon, you will be opening up a wilderness
18 where the Porcupine caribou herd calves on the coastal
19 plain and in the foothills every summer. This is one
20 of the last great herds of caribou in North America.

21 Then it is proposed that the
22 pipeline from Alaska should cross the mouth of the
23 Mackenzie Delta where the white whales of the Beaufort
24 Sea come to have their young in the warm waters of the
25 delta each summer. Millions of birds come to the
26 Mackenzie Delta and the coast of the Beaufort Sea each
27 summer from all over the western hemisphere to breed and
28 to store up energy for their long journey south in the
29 fall. The Mackenzie Valley is one of the major flyways
30 of the world. Can we build pipelines from the north

under conditions that will ensure the survival of these species? These are some of the questions that we are examining, but it is the people of the north that have the most at stake here because they will have to live with whatever decisions are made. That is why this Inquiry has held hearings in 28 cities and towns, villages, settlements and outposts in the north to enable the peoples of the north to tell me, to tell the government and to tell all of us what their life and their own experience has taught them about the north ^{what} and they believe to be the likely impact of a pipeline and energy corridor.

So, the Inquiry has been from Sachs Harbour to Fort Smith, from Old Crow to Fort Franklin and has heard from 700 witnesses in English, French, Loucheux, Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan and Eskimo.

Our task is to establish constructive approaches to northern development. If we are to do that, we have an obligation to canvass all of the questions before us. Should native land claims be settled before the pipeline is built? If it is built and the native people want to participate in its construction, how can we ensure that they are given an opportunity to work on the pipeline? Can they develop skills on the pipeline that will be of some use to themselves and to the north after the pipeline is built? Can we provide a sound basis for northern business to obtain contracts and sub-contracts on the pipeline?

What about the unions? We are told they have awesome measure of control over

pipeline construction in Alaska. Should they have the same measure of control over pipeline construction in the Mackenzie Valley?

What about the local taxpayer in the main centers of the north such as Yellowknife and Inuvik? If you have a pipeline boom, you will have to expand your schools, your hospitals, your police force, your local services. What measures ought to be taken to enable the municipalities and other institutions of local government to cope with the impact?

Now, I said that this Inquiry began on March 3rd, 1975. We have spent 14 months holding hearings in northern Canada and we are now concluding one month of hearings in the main urban centers of southern Canada and we will return to Yellowknife in mid-June to complete our hearings in the north; but let me tell you why we are holding hearings in southern Canada. It is because we Canadians think of ourselves as a northern people, so the future of the Canadian north is a matter of concern to all of us, or ought to be. In fact, it is our own appetite for oil and gas and our own patterns of energy consumption that have given rise to proposals to bring oil and gas from the Arctic. It may well be that what happens in the Canadian north and to northern peoples will tell us something about what kind of a country Canada is and what kind of a people we are. That is why we are here to listen to you.

Let me say that we have with us some visitors from northern Canada. When the

Inquiry was established in March last year, the CBC established a northern broadcasting unit which accompanies the Inquiry wherever it goes and broadcasts for an hour each evening over the northern network to people throughout the Northwest Territories and the Yukon about the proceedings of the Inquiry, about the day's proceedings in English and the native languages. Those broadcasters include Whit Fraser who broadcasts in English, Abe Okpik who broadcasts in Eskimo, Jim Sittichinli who broadcasts in Loucheux, Louis Blondin who broadcasts in Slavey and Joe Toby who broadcasts in Dogrib and Chipewyan.

They broadcast from the south each day that we hold hearings in these urban centers for an hour each evening in English and the native languages reporting to northern Canada what people like yourselves are saying here in southern Canada.

I'll ask Mr. Roland to outline the procedure we'll follow today and tomorrow.

MR. ROLAND: Yes sir. I think it would be appropriate at the beginning to say a word about the procedure of which will be followed at this hearing and which has been followed at all other cities in southern Canada.

The procedure which Commission Counsel has recommended and which has been accepted by counsel for the two applicants and all formal participants is designed to be as informal and as relaxed as possible with a view to allowing all those

who wish to make submissions to do so conveniently and comfortably.

Prior to coming to southern Canada, the Inquiry published an advertisement setting out its hearing dates in a number of newspapers including newspapers in Ottawa. In that advertisement, persons who wished to make submissions were invited to write or telephone us by May 1st indicating their desire to do so. This request was made so that the Inquiry would be able to gauge the time required in southern Canada to hear submissions and so that our timetable in each community could be carefully mapped.

Persons who responded in writing or by telephone to our advertisement were given appointments to make submissions before you, and it is that process which we are beginning here in Ottawa this morning.

I wish to emphasize that any other person or organizations who did not respond to our advertisement by May 1st, but who wish to make a submission are entitled and encouraged to do so. This may be done in one of two ways. A submission in writing may be made anytime by writing to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. There is no necessity that a written submission meet any particular formal requirements. A simple letter setting out the matters that you want to bring to the Inquiry's attention will be quite satisfactory.

If persons who did not

1 respond to the advertisement wish to make an oral
2 submission at this hearing, it would be much appreciat-
3 ed if they would speak to me or to Mr. Waddell who is
4 on my left as soon as possible, and an effort will
5 be made to provide a time for you to make your sub-
6 mission within the existing agenda.

7 I should add that in order
8 to encourage informality, counsel for the two applicants
9 and the participants have agreed that there will be
10 no cross-examination of those making submissions, unless
11 such cross-examination is specifically requested. In
12 place of cross-examination, counsel for each of the
13 applicants and each of the participants will be
14 allowed at the conclusion of each morning, afternoon
15 and evening session to make a statement not exceeding
16 ten minutes in length about the submissions that have
17 been heard during that session.

18 You will notice that
19 persons making submissions are asked to give their
20 oath or to affirm. This is a practise that the Inquiry
21 has followed not only in the formal hearings in
22 Yellowknife but at community hearings in each of the
23 28 communities in the Mackenzie Valley and Delta.
24 The purpose of the oath or affirmation is recognition
25 of the importance of the work in which the Inquiry
26 is engaged.

27 Sir,, with those remarks
28 I would ask Mr. Waddell to call the first witness this
29 morning.

30 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commission-

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er, I take it that most people in the audience know that there is no microphone and they have to use the earphones. That is, there is no P.A. They use the earphones.

Mr. Commissioner, the agenda has been slightly revised and we'll hear first from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, then from a number of church groups, then from the Industrial Gas Users Association and I have some briefs to file after that and that will take us until our coffee period.

I'd call then the first brief for this morning from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and that brief will be given sir by Mr. John Amagoalik who is here; spelled A-m-a-g-o-a-l-i-k.

JOHN AMAGOALIK, sworn;

THE WITNESS: Mr.

Commissioner, let me first of all thank you for giving us this opportunity to appear before you on behalf of all the Inuit of northern Canada, on behalf of the president and the board of directors of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. We would like you to know that we follow with interest your hearings in the Inuit communities of the western Arctic and it is encouraging to us to note that your hearings in southern Canada are attracting a great deal of interest and generating considerable discussion.

Our organization, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, represents all of the Inuit of Canada numbering some 18,500 in the Northwest Territories, northern Quebec and Labrador. There are

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six regional Inuit Associations whose presidents are on the board of directors of I.T.C. One of the regional affiliates is the Committee for Original People's Entitlement, more commonly known as COPE. As you know, COPE has been actively involved from the beginning with your hearings in the north since it represents the Inuit of western Canada -- the western Arctic.

Your Inquiry is unique and it establishes an important precedent. We hope that this precedent will be recognized when other major developments are proposed. So far as we know, this is the first time Canadians have been given an opportunity to take part in meaningful discussions of a major development project before it actually gets started. More particularly, it is the first time the native people have been given such an opportunity to put their case before someone they feel they can trust.

Your patience has become legendary, but today we do not intend to subject you to a long emotional appeal. Rather, we will set out as briefly and as factually as possible our position with regard to the proposed Mackenzie Valley Natural Gas Pipeline.

We Inuit have never said that we are opposed to oil development. Sometimes, perhaps often, we have not liked the way that development has proceeded. In particular, we do not like it when someone else get the benefits and we pay the costs

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in terms of destruction of our land and our lifestyle.

But we know that the decisions will be made by someone other than ourselves and therefore we suspect that some development will take place whether we want it or not. What we are asking for is some say in the way in which exploration and development take place and a degree of control which will allow us to protect the environment and the wildlife and thus ensure the survival of our way of life, our culture and our identity. We join with COPE and other native associations in opposing an immediate start on the natural gas pipeline.

As Inuit, we consider ourselves to be the owners of the land in the northern part of the Mackenzie Delta and north coastal Yukon that would be affected by a pipeline.

We have never signed treaties giving up our land.

We have never been conquered and we have never surrendered our lands in any way.

Inuit lived on that land and used that land thousands of years before white man arrived on this continent. Before the oil companies became interested, before the pipeline companies became interested, before the government became interested, the land was home to the Inuit.

It is still our homeland. The evidence from our Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project which was presented in part at the community hearings shows that Inuit continue to rely on the land

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and the animals as much as they ever did in the past.

A legal document which simply states that we own the land which has always been ours is not the main point. I stand before you today not so much for my rights, but because I care. I care not for myself but for my children and their future. I care about the native people of this country. I care about Canada and I say this because I get the feeling down here in Ottawa that people don't give a damn about the future anymore. The people of this country must have a good hard look at where this country is going. The pipeline must not be built if it will be only for the benefit for likes of the Mayor of Calgary or the Territorial Councillors of Yellowknife. If the pipeline is to be built, it must be for the benefit of the little people.

We can no longer pump the energy out of the ground as fast as we can and use it or sell it as fast as we can. The earth is only so big and you can only take so much out of it. Once it's gone, it's gone. What will happen to our children when the last drop of oil has been pumped out of the ground? People cannot keep expecting to maintain their high standard of living. People must now be prepared to make sacrifices.

The Prime Minister of this country has said that there needs to be a "new society" A society which will look to the future and have concern for their children, a society truly concerned for their children, a society which will make

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sacrifices so that their children will have a more secure future, a society which will be prepared to say, "We care" and mean it.

The north has been labelled as the "last frontier". Some look at it as something which needs to be conquered, explored and exploited. It has been called a "warehouse of resources". To us it is home. It is a part of us. It is where we were born. It is where we will die. It belongs to our children. For the sake of future generations of all Canadians, this land must be protected, preserved and used wisely. It is not a wasteland of ice and snow and it must not become a wasteland of concrete towers, railways, pipelines and a broken people.

Last February, we presented to the Prime Minister and the Federal Cabinet a proposal for sharing our lands with the rest of Canada. I want to emphasize that it is a land-sharing proposal. In fact, we are not claiming anything, because Inuit already own the land. Some discussions on our proposals are in progress, but we have yet to reach even an agreement-in-principle.

We submit that to start building pipelines, processing plants and gathering systems at this point would amount to just trespassing on property owned, used and occupied by the Inuit of northern Canada. Before any pipeline is built, the land rights of Inuit must be settled.

As we see it, a fair settlement of our rights will provide a framework

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within which Inuit can cope with industrial development. It would give us the means to ensure that the land and the environment continue to sustain us and our children in the future. I do not intend to remind you of our feeling for the environment. Having travelled to the communities, you know first hand of our deep concern for the land and the wildlife.

To adequately protect these concerns, we must have some control over our own destiny and the best way to achieve that is through a fair settlement of our land rights. Of course, this would mean that Inuit will assume some real political and economic power in their own land.

But that is not such a frightening prospect as some southerners and northerners seem to believe. We have always maintained that the native people of the north will be a lot easier to deal with once they are no longer treated as colonial subjects of Yellowknife and Ottawa.

Your hearings have made clear that a gas pipeline may be only the thin edge of a wedge of development. We know that in fact there may be two or three gas pipelines, an oil pipeline and hydro transmission lines from the north. Is this massive development going to leave a broken people and a broken culture in its wake? If not, Inuit must be allowed the opportunity to participate in the social, political and economic process as full Canadians and not treated as romantic remnants from the past to be looked after as wards of the Government of Canada.

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We believe that a fair land settlement can also provide economic alternatives for Inuit so that big-time industrial development does not have to be the only game in town. Some Inuit may want to work on the pipeline, but we would be foolhardy to look at the pipeline as a source of long-term satisfying jobs. At the present time, the only alternative to short-term wage employment is welfare and the loss of pride and dignity that go with it.

We can do better than that. A land settlement would create new opportunities for the Inuit in the areas of renewable resource harvesting. For example, given the chance, Inuit can create economic opportunities that will bring communities together instead of tearing them apart.

We have only to look at Alaska to see the disruption that can accompany a project such as the pipeline. It is a frightening prospect and one that we are determined to avoid. In part, we are looking to you to ensure that if a pipeline is built, it is built with the maximum safeguards for the land and the native people but just as important, we are looking to ourselves to create a future in which we are participating in decisions that affect our lives. That can only come about through a fair land settlement. To proceed with the pipeline now before native land rights have been settled would also set a dangerous precedent and one that causes the Inuit grave concern. If the Mackenzie Valley Line is pushed through, it could establish a precedent for the proposed Polar Gas

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Pipeline which would run from the Arctic Island south through Inuit land and involve more trespassing, disruption of the traditional way of life and social and economic upheaval.

We do not believe that we are being unreasonable in asking that a pipeline be delayed until after a land settlement. There are other equally strong reasons that argue for delay. We have no desire to withhold supplies of natural gas if they are urgently needed in the south but do we really know whether our country is facing a serious energy shortage?

It was only about three years ago we were told that Canada had sufficient energy supplies to meet its own needs in the foreseeable future, with plenty left over to export to the United States. Now suddenly we are told we face a shortage and that the price of crude oil and natural gas has to be raised. We are told that the oil companies must have more revenue so that they can step up their exploration and find more reserves. That means more pressure on the environment, the wildlife and the people of the north. The average southern Canadian must find all this very confusing. To an Inuk trapper living in Sachs Harbur or Paulatuk, it is positively bewildering.

Then there is the question of conserving energy. We hear a lot about it. The Government tells us we must stop wasting fuel. We agree with this but we are certainly not convinced that

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southern Canada is serious about conservation. All the evidence points in precisely the opposite direction. You just have to look out on the streets at all the big cars and the government buildings with lights burning all night in empty offices. How many Cabinet Ministers have set an example for the rest of us by trading in their limousines for sub-compacts?

We are concerned and puzzled about the economic impact of this project on the whole country. Of course, we do not understand all the economic implications and I don't think anyone does, but we have been told that the pipeline will cost an estimated \$10 billion. We are warned repeatedly about the dangers of inflation and we are urged to tighten our belts, accept smaller salary increases and generally demand less of the Canadian economy.

Can such a huge investment as this be made without creating even worse inflation? Are Canadians willing to pay that price? These are some of the questions that we feel have not been answered to the satisfaction of the average Canadian.

A pipeline built right now would take away more than it would give to the original inhabitants of the north. The native people will be offered only the most menial jobs on the construction and even those jobs will be just temporary. When the project is finished, the jobs will disappear and perhaps the wildlife will have disappeared as well and where does that leave the native people? With nothing to fall back on but the government's welfare assistance.

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Perhaps it all boils down to whether the Government of Canada, the politicians and the southern bureaucrats have learned any lessons from history. We have said before that where the Inuit are concerned, it is not too late to avoid the mistakes of the past.

We have put three years of hard work into preparing the Inuit Land Settlement Proposal that was presented to the government last February. I want to say again that we are offering to share our land with Canadians, but we are not giving it away. The settlement of native rights remains the first item of unfinished business in the north.

Our fear is that projects like the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposed under pressure and undertaken before a land settlement will condemn the proud and independent native citizens of the Arctic to the kind of demoralizing and degrading welfare culture which has been imposed on so many native people in southern Canada. This must not happen in the north.

The establishment of your Commission of Inquiry was a step in the right direction, and the Government of Canada is to be commended for taking that step and for giving you terms of reference broad enough to permit the creation of a unique forum for hearing the native people and their concerns. Our main hope now, perhaps our only hope, is that the government pays attention to what you say in your report.

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In conclusion, let me say that we will be appearing before you again jointly with representatives of COPE when you return to Yellowknife to resume the social and economic phase of your hearings. At that time, we will be presenting more detailed evidence on our comprehensive land settlement proposal.

Thank you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much sir. Thank you.

(SUBMISSION OF THE INUIT TAPIRISAT OF CANADA -
J. AMAGOALIK - MARKED EXHIBIT C-543)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, before I call the next brief, I should tell you that there is some students here present today as there has been from time to time throughout our hearings in the south. Today, there are students from Ashbury College for boys and apparently they are writing their final exam on this hearing today -- a grade 13 class. They are under the teacher Miss Kai Reitan -- Mrs. Kai Reitan who will be giving a brief later on in our hearings this week.

I would then call the next brief sir, and that is from Project North, and I would call the Reverend Dr. G. Russell Hatton, and Dr. Hatton will introduce the people he has with him.

REVEREND RUSSELL HATTON, sworn;

THE WITNESS: My name is Russell Hatton from the National Office of the Anglican Church of Canada, and I am here as the spokesman for

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Project North.

Project North is a project -- inter-church project on northern development; a project of the Anglican Church of Canada, the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops, and the United Church of Canada.

Before I begin, I would like to introduce the staff of Project North by name as they are listed in Appendix A of our brief; namely, Dr. Tony Clarke of the Canadian Catholic Conference, the project co-ordinator, Ottawa; the Reverend Dr. Edward Johnston, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto; Mrs. Elizabeth Loweth the United Church of Canada, Toronto; the Reverend Dr. Clarke MacDonald, United Church of Canada, Toronto; Mr. Don Shepherd, Anglican Church of Canada, Regina; Reverend Ernest Willie, Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto and Mr. Hugh McCullum, staff co-ordinator of Project North and Mrs. Karmel McCullum, staff co-ordinator of Project North.

Sir, at the table with me in a supporting role are three of our national church leaders, and I would like to introduce them to you. On my immediate right is Grace Archbishop Scott, primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, Monseigneur Adolphe Proulx, Bishop of Hull who is representing Bishop Emmet Carter, president of the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops, and Dr. Donald MacDonald, general secretary, administrative council, Presbyterian Church in Canada.

I would also like to mention that the supporting resolutions of the churches and other

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documents are listed in Appendices B and C.

Now sir to the brief which is entitled, "A Call for a Moratorium; Some Moral and Ethical Considerations Relating to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline".

Mr. Commissioner, the Anglican, United and Roman Catholic Churches represented here today in Project North would like to thank you for this opportunity of appearing before you to express some of the moral and ethical issues which we feel to be crucial to any discussion of the proposed Mackenzie Valley Natural Gas Pipeline and indeed, to any discussion of northern development and native concerns.

These concerns have reminded some of us of a legend of the Inuit which bears repeating. It is called "The Legend of the Raven".

"At one time, the Raven was able to talk with Man. The Raven was a great help to Man. The Raven was a great help to Man because he would fly out in search for the caribou, the seal or the walrus and would report back to Man. Man would hunt and they would share the food. They were brothers, but then one day greed entered the picture and the Raven wanted the food for himself. Because of this, he lost his voice and was left with nothing but a raspy croak. Today, although the Raven is seen everywhere in the north where man lives, he no longer talks to Man and they are not brothers."

We believe this legend has a profound meaning for us today, for if we do not learn to

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share and live together as brothers, our survival is in serious jeopardy.

It is for this reason that we intend today to press for consideration by this Inquiry, and through it by the people of Canada, for a moratorium on all major northern resource development projects, including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline to give Canadians an opportunity to work together to develop alternative lifestyles based on conservation rather than consumer attitudes.

These concerns come out of various statements that have been made by the churches we represent here today.

In September of last year, the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Canadian Catholic Conference issued their 18th annual Labour Day Statement. It was entitled "Northern Development: At What Cost?"

The statement, which was widely acclaimed by native organizations and others interested in a more rational form of northern development, expressed the wish that the Catholic community, together with fellow Christians, members of other faiths and fellow citizens would be able to act in "solidarity with the native peoples of the north in a common search for more creative ways of developing 'the last frontier' of this country."

The statement also indicated that several conditions be met before any final decisions are made to proceed with specific projects of northern development such as the Mackenzie Valley

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Pipeline.

- "(a) Sufficient public discussion and debate about proposed industrial projects, based on independent studies of energy needs and social costs of the proposed developments;
- (b) achievement of a just land settlement with the native peoples, including hunting, fishing and trapping rights and fair royalties in return for the extraction of valuable resources from their land claims;
- (c) effective participation by the native peoples in shaping the kind of regional development beginning with effective control over their own future economic development;
- (d) adequate measures to protect the terrain, vegetation, wildlife and waters of northern areas based on complete and independent studies of the regional environment to be affected by proposed developments;
- (e) adequate controls to regulate the extraction of energy resources from the north to prevent the rapid depletion of oil, gas and other resources which are non-renewable.

The Anglican Church of Canada through its General Synod meeting at Quebec City just one year ago, made equally strong demands of the Federal Government in terms of native land claims and northern development.

The Synod passed five related resolutions, but the one most clearly related to the

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business of this Inquiry reads as follows:

"That this General Synod, through the Primate, request the Federal Government and through the appropriate Diocesan Bishops request Provincial and Territorial Governments to halt planned development until aboriginal claims are settled and to initiate negotiations on the land claims issues without prior conditions and taking seriously these aboriginal claims.

The Synod has communicated these concerns to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the appropriate Provincial and Territorial Governments. During the debate on these resolutions, it was made clear in the minds of the overwhelming majority of delegates who represent clergy, laity and Bishops from across the nation, that the Mackenzie Valley Natural Gas Pipeline as presently proposed by the two applicants was the major project they had in mind.

The United Church of Canada has also taken a strong stand on the rights of native people and the need for a more rational approach to development in the Mackenzie Valley.

Through the Department of Church in Society of the Division of Mission in Canada which represents the United Church on "social, political, and moral issues", they approved the following resolution on September 27, 1975:

"Whereas it is apparent to us all that our white forefathers did not deal fairly with the native

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peoples of Canada; and in fact appropriated to themselves with no or very little compensation to the natives, large segments of land in Canada: Be it resolved that this department record now its general support of the Indians of Canada in making their claims for land, and inform all native organizations of this support."

These three churches whose membership numbers some 15 million Canadians, are also joined with others in expressing their concerns for the north.

Out of these concerns expressed in their official statements, these churches initiated Project North, an inter-church action project on northern development.

This coalition of Anglican, United and Roman Catholic churches very recently expanded to include the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, came into being September 1st, 1975 and is staffed by Hugh McCullum and Karmel McCullum, co-authors of "This Land is Not For Sale".

The basic purpose of the two-year project is to increase the capacity of the churches to address more effectively the ethical and moral issues of northern development within three broad dimensions:

- Justice for the land claims of the native people
- Stewardship of resources (energy, mineral, etc.)
- And cultural and spiritual realities.

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Within this broad purpose the project which relates to these churches through national staff persons assigned to it, has two main objectives:

1. To challenge and mobilize the church constituency in the south to act and respond to the ethical and moral issues of northern development, and,
2. To support the creative activities of northern people engaged in the struggles of northern development.

The project attempts to fulfill these objectives in very concrete ways in four main areas of the country: Northern Quebec, northern Manitoba, northwestern British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories and by developing research, documenting issues, maintaining liaison with native groups and mobilizing southern constituencies through education, communication and consciousness raising programs.

Since the background of the staff of the project is in the area of communication and research, Project North also offers media support to those native organizations in the north which request it.

The project is funded equally by the three churches originally involved, with recent additional funding from Presbyterian and Lutheran churches. Native organizations, notably the Nishga Tribal Council, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories, the Northern Flood Committee in Manitoba and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association

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1 have close working relationships with the project
2 and give financial support to particular pieces of
3 work. The three national native organizations, the
4 National Indian Brotherhood, the Native Council of
5 Canada and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada also have a
6 working relationship with the project.

7 Mr. Commissioner, the purpose
8 of this background information is to establish the
9 basic purpose for the presentation of this brief to
10 your Inquiry. That purpose which we mentioned at the
11 outset of this presentation is to call for a moratorium
12 on all major resource development in the north,
13 including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. On March 2nd,
14 1976, the leaders of Canada's five major denominations
15 and the Canadian Council of Churches appeared before
16 the Prime Minister and members of the Federal Cabinet
17 to urge upon them the necessity for such a moratorium
18 in a document entitled "Justice Demands Action".

19 We believe that the issues of
20 the development of the Mackenzie Valley and specifically
21 the proposed natural gas pipeline must be defined in
22 a moral and ethical manner and not merely in terms
23 of economics or political expediency.

24 There are those in society
25 who would say that the church should not be involved in
26 political, economic or social issues. These people
27 would argue that the church is concerned with man's
28 soul and lacks the expertise to deal adequately with
29 other matters.

30 We reject this concept and

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1 turn to the Biblical imperatives of justice and
2 liberation for the poor, the dispossessed and the
3 minorities of this world. We suggest that the decisions
4 of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline must be considered
5 along moral and ethical grounds at least as equally
6 as political and economic grounds because we are talk-
7 ing of the very soul of this nation.

8 So, Mr. Commissioner, we
9 would like to ask your indulgence to reflect with us
10 for a few moments on the role of the church in
11 addressing the moral and ethical issues of northern
12 development.

13 In defining development,
14 material values have been allowed to become the norm,
15 while Gospel values are only nominally held as rather
16 abstract propositions which do not affect public
17 attitudes, behavior and policies all that much. As
18 with many of our social, educational and economic
19 institutions, there has been a tendency for the church
20 to be caught up in accommodating to the established
21 social order, an order which gives more priority to
22 economic growth and profit-oriented values which are
23 called "realities", and less to social justice and
24 human dignity, which are called "humanitarian
25 sentiments". In our experience, we are discovering
26 that justice and human dignity are not the automatic
27 by-products of such economic growth.

28 The Gospel proclaims that God's
29 sovereignty includes all realms of life. Nothing
30 that is human can be outside the church's mission. It

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is the love of God in Christ for man that is the basis of the church's social and political concern. In particular, this means that we stand in solidarity with the native peoples of Canada who face the inseparable connection between themselves as a people, and the stewardship of the earth's resources.

Most of us live in and benefit from a socio-economic situation which is sinful. By social sin, we mean that we create and sustain social and economic patterns of behavior that bind and oppress, give privilege to the powerful, and maintain systems of dependency, paternalism, racism and colonialism.

The Gospel is more than mere propositions. The Good News is a cluster of living images and values for living. It brings with it a radically new vision of man. In view of this new vision of man, Christians are called to take a critical stance regarding the social reality of each time and space. The Gospel sheds critical light on the structures and procedures of our institutions, governments and corporations and calls into question many of the images and norms which prevail in the mainstream of our economic, political and social life.

Let it be clear that we are not speaking of countries far away, but we are speaking of our own Canadian society and many of its institutionalized ways of life. This state of affairs we believe demands not only individual repentance on the part of Christians but even more difficult, a change of social priorities among all Canadians.

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We believe that the following underlying assumptions guide Canadian public policy making:

1. That our society as it presently operates is basically sound and that at most, a few adjustments are required to cope with changing conditions, and,
2. That problems can be isolated and analyzed and that the results can be re-integrated with other factors on the basis of rational functional calculations.

Emphasis is given to continuity with present practices and rational, technical decision-making by the experts even though it will probably nod in the direction of citizen participation. These are assumptions that must be challenged sir, given the existence of the serious problems of economic and cultural inequalities.

It is our belief that simple tinkering and patchwork will not suffice to bring justice to its fullest extent in our society.

We are talking about more than simple reformism and calling for more than mere individual conversion. We are calling for a conversion within our social and economic structures whereby policy making and decision making will begin to reflect and make practical the values of justice, dignity and fulfillment for every human being. Our corporate sins must be acknowledged and we must turn around if we are to have a society that truly reflects the social consequences of the New Commandment. To bless the established order is to remain unconverted.

We want to share with you what

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1 you what was, for those of us who were in attendance at
2 the Anglican Church's General Synod in Quebec City last
3 June, a "moment of truth". It was the day the issue
4 of native rights and northern development was to be
5 debated. It was introduced by the Bishop of the
6 Arctic, John Sperry. Using the analogy of the parable
7 of the Good Samaritan, he asked the Synod what it should
8 do about the robbed, beaten and broken body lying beside
9 the road that was Canada's native people of today, as
10 the white population and its governments passed by on
11 the other side.

12 Sperry spoke in passionate
13 and urgent tones and I quote him:

14 "We must be like the Good Samaritan who not only
15 bound up the wounds inflicted by a cruel and
16 heartless society that left a race of people to
17 die, but who stood clearly beside this man and con-
18 tinued to support him when all others had abandoned
19 him and helped him morally and with action.

20 If we today fail to place ourselves clearly on the
21 side of native people in Canada and instead pass by
22 on the other side by refusing to state clearly with
23 words and actions where we stand, then we must
24 return to our homes from this place and hang our
25 heads in shame."

26 Mr. Commissioner, we think that
27 to pass by on the other side means to fail to deal
28 squarely with the issues of justice in respect to native
29 land claims and the cultural survival of the native
30 peoples of the Northwest Territories; that it means

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irresponsible stewardship with respect to the exploitation of energy and mineral resources in the Northwest Territories; that it means to denigrate our human and natural resources and above all, that it is to deny the Gospel of justice, dignity and human fulfillment for all God's people.

From these reflections we believe it is clear to us that we must press home the point that the Federal Government has a major responsibility to insist that colonial patterns of development not prevail any longer in the Canadian north, especially in the Northwest Territories where the Federal Government retains complete jurisdiction.

We are helped in understanding this by examining the forces that are at work in the north, the same forces that are at work in almost every Third World situation we know of. The world we talk about is one that is economically underdeveloped, which often has huge reserves of natural resources, and has become the target for transnational companies anxious to open up or develop the north.

There have been studies undertaken which draw striking parallels between the struggle of the native peoples in the Amazon regions of Brazil, where a variety of mining, agricultural, forest and energy projects have been initiated along with the construction of highways, railroads and seaports to service these projects. Native people there have had no role in the decisions about this development, therefore, we suggest the colonial pattern of resource development

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has emerged in that area which has had striking consequences for the native peoples who have inhabited the Amazon basin for centuries.

The same forces and the same patterns we believe are at work in the Mackenzie, where native peoples do not have a decision making role in northern development.

The most important similarity is the failure to involve native peoples in decisions about development that affects them. Land is the essential ingredient to the lives of the indigenous people of the Amazon. The native people of the Northwest Territories insist that the land is their life.

Another similarity noted by the studies is the conflict of interest in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development that make it similar to the Brazilian National Foundation for Assistance to the Indians, a government agency with a two-fold objective.

1. To protect the native people until they are sufficiently integrated into national society, and,
2. to serve as an agency for the Ministry of the Interior promoting the development of the Amazon.

As you know sir, the two hats worn by the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are:

1. As legal guardian of native rights in Canada and,
2. to ensure the development of Canada's north, in particular the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.

Now, in many instances, the

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1 same transnational corporations, for example Placer/
2 Noranda, Shell Exploration/Royal Dutch Shell; Cominco/
3 Canadian Pacific; Brăscan Resources/Brascan Limited;
4 Giant Yellowknife/Falconbridge Nickel Mines; INCO; are
5 involved in the two areas and the same policies of the
6 Brazilian Government in providing incentives for re-
7 source development are found in the incentives of the
8 northern resource development programs of our Department
9 of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

10 Project North believes it is
11 clear that the colonial patterns of resource develop-
12 ment similar to those found in Brazil will occur in the
13 Northwest Territories during the next decade if the
14 plans developed thus far in secret of the Federal
15 Government and the transnational energy corporations are
16 allowed to proceed unchecked.

17 For these reasons the churches
18 insist that there be a moratorium on all northern
19 development including construction of any Mackenzie
20 Valley Pipeline.

21 The experience of the Amazon
22 must in no way be allowed to occur in the Northwest
23 Territories, for while the consequences of colonial
24 development in the Mackenzie are already tragic, their
25 continuation would result in nothing less than disaster.

26 There are those within the
27 present administration in Canada who will argue stren-
28 uously that our democratic system protects adequately
29 the rights of native minorities. In fact, the natives
30 are not a minority in the Northwest Territories as you

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well know, and it is clear we believe that their rights are not adequately safeguarded.

We cannot afford to be complacent about the protection of the democratic rights of the native people of the north. The record is not good. The colonial administration of the Territorial Council, the lone, but hardy voice of the Northwest Territorial's sole Member of Parliament and the demands of a consumer oriented southern white majority makes the guaranteeing of these rights a constant and often losing struggle .

For there to be equality in this struggle, it is necessary for the churches and all other groups interested in the moral and ethical questions of northern development to stand openly officially and clearly on the side of justice for and the human rights of the native people of this country.

There must be continual demand for freedom of information, a process of accountability in decision making by senior civil servants as well as elected representatives, and a clear statement of who decides how resource development takes place and for whose benefit.

As Canadians, we have an obligation to defend the rights of minorities and to recognize that the various regions -- in this case north and south -- must play an interlocking role if all Canadians are to live in justice and equality.

But we suggest here Mr. Commissioner that the rights of Canada's native people

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1 occupy a special status within this country and that
2 we are talking about more than the rights of a minority;
3 we are talking about the rights of Canada's original
4 people.

5 It is also important to con-
6 sider that native people are on the cutting edge of
7 turning the direction of our society's growth from
8 materialism and consumerism to a more fundamentally
9 human concept. In some ways, the north is fighting the
10 south's battles.

11 It is on that note Mr.
12 Commissioner that we would like to turn to our basic
13 recommendations which we hope your Inquiry will consider
14 carefully, for we believe steadfastly that time is the
15 essential ingredient that must be considered in any
16 application for the construction of a pipeline.

17 We hope to describe clearly in
18 the remainder of this brief why we are calling for a
19 substantial moratorium on major resource development in
20 the Northwest Territories, and the feasibility of such a
21 moratorium not only at the moral and ethical level,
22 but at what the government and oil companies like to
23 describe as the "practical" or "realistic" or "pragmatic"
24 level.

25 We believe that a moratorium
26 on all major resource development in the Northwest
27 Territories should be declared, and that no right of
28 conveyance should be granted to any pipeline company
29 during this period until the rights of the native
30 people have been clearly defined and adjudicated.

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That period would be used to achieve the following objectives through a public search for alternative policies of northern development:

1. Just settlement of all native land claims. The only major settlement of land claims that has been negotiated by the Federal Government in recent years was that in James Bay. It was a land extinguishment settlement at complete variance with the kinds of settlements being envisaged by the Dene and Inuit.

It was a settlement which the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had publicly indicated will be a model or

"Will at least contain the ingredients for other settlements".

Because of the continued construction of the James Bay hydro development project during the period of negotiation, and because the native people were forced into an unrealistic deadline from their point of view, the negotiating process was extremely difficult. The moratorium we propose would give all groups the necessary breathing space to negotiate and realize just land claims that reflect the wishes and the aspirations of the Dene and Inuit. Unrealistic deadlines could be avoided and discussions could take place in an open and suitable manner in the north, rather than being rushed through a purely white man's process in Ottawa or Yellowknife.

The pressure to produce a proposal and an agreement under the threat of deadlines

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is foreign to native ways of achieving settlements. The use of regional and community discussions and eventual consensus should have at least the same weight as the white man's processes.

2. Native peoples programs for regional economic development. The slogan of the native people "land, not money" reflects the desire for self-determination and control of their own destiny. This can only be achieved they insist through economic development that they control and administer.

We would favor policies that support native people in regions where they do not want large cash settlements such as were negotiated in James Bay and Alaska, but rather the economic base that can be derived from the controlled development of their own natural resources. If a moratorium on major northern development projects such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline were granted, time would be available for the native people to devise appropriate programs themselves rather than the ad hoc method presently invoked.

These programs would take into consideration the traditional hunting, fishing and trapping of native people as well as providing a base for local and regional governments. These programs have little chance of development if the native people are attempting to adjust to and live within the enormous social and economic unrest of the construction period of a pipeline. Development of their own regional economic programs would safeguard their way of life

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1 before resource development rather than afterwards
2 when it is too late.

3 3. Adequate safeguards to deal with environmental
4 problems like oil spills, blowouts, damage to the
5 terrain and the living creatures. Evidence before this
6 Inquiry has made it clear that many of the environmental
7 questions have not been adequately answered by the
8 applicants and that because such a pipeline is the
9 first in the world, there is no body of experience to
10 draw upon.

11 The question of alternative
12 routes that would cause less social and economic
13 environmental damage in the area needs a great deal
14 more examination.

15 The very real fears of the
16 people whose lives depend so deeply on their relation-
17 ship to the Beaufort Sea would be allayed if time
18 were given to developing a safer technology for off-
19 shore drilling than is presently available to the
20 industry. The hasty planning that has accompanied so
21 many massive industrial and energy projects in the
22 north exemplifies the frontier boom or bust mentality
23 of colonial development. Extraction of resources rarely
24 takes into account ecological or environmental concerns
25 until it is too late. A moratorium we believe, should
26 be used to change this pattern so that adequate
27 safeguards are planned and included in proposals before
28 the construction phase begins.

29 4. Adequate programs to regulate domestic consumption
30 and export of energy resources. Canadians have no

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real input into a rational nation-wide energy policy. The National Energy Board is not available as a forum to most Canadians. Public discussion is almost impossible because of conflicting conditional, partial and misleading answers to energy supply and demand from the government and industry.

A case in point is the failure to explain adequately the unbelievable discrepancy between 1971 and '74 statements with respect to oil and gas reserves in this country. The Honorable Joe Greene, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources in 1971 told the nation we had 923 years supply of oil and 392 years supply of gas and had better export these non-renewable resources before they became obsolete. In 1974 the National Energy Board reported that we would have to start importing oil by 1982 and of course the applicants before this Inquiry and the same Department of Energy, Mines and Resources insist that a natural gas shortage is just around the corner.

Nothing short of a full and independent public inquiry will ever serve to give the people of the country the facts they need to make the decisions about what is and what is not in their interests. Until such a public inquiry produces some straight answers on energy supply and demand, so that the public can participate meaningfully in decision making, a moratorium on pipeline construction and offshore drilling should be enforced.

Too early and precipitate approval of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline by the

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National Energy Board and the Federal Government will serve further to confuse the issues and leave the people of Canada unable to decide whether they wish to be consumers or conservers.

The following arguments show that if the Federal Government takes the appropriate steps, there are sufficient supplies of natural gas to ensure Canadian consumption until at least the year 2001. This would give ample time for a full public inquiry and discussion of future energy development with a moratorium on such projects as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline until the Inquiry has been completed and a responsible national energy policy established. At the same time, environmental and native concerns could be dealt with in a just manner.

1. A July 1975 background study issued by the Science Council of Canada, "Energy Conservation" by F. H. Knelman concludes that a serious program of waste reduction can result in a saving of 30% of projected 1995 consumption of natural gas. This cutback, Knelman asserts, could add four years to supply projections.

2. Canadian Arctic Gas Pipelines admits that there is no imminent physical shortage of natural gas in Canada and says that there is a 12 year supply available for delivery to all parts of Canada if the Federal Government takes the necessary steps to ensure that deliverability. The main problem is not availability but deliverability, and the main reason for this is that TransCanada Pipelines cannot meet eastern Canadian demands because the corporation is unwilling to pay

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the price suppliers are asking for available Alberta natural gas.

3. Canada now exports to the United States natural gas at the rate of one trillion cubic feet a year, about 40% of its annual natural gas production. Long-term contracts call for the export of an additional 14 trillion cubic feet between 1974 and 1995. But Mr. Commissioner, you are no doubt aware that reduction or elimination of exports is allowable under Canadian law if supply conditions warrant. If 10 trillion cubic feet of natural gas were diverted for domestic use, Canada's gas supply would be extended by seven years.

4. The Alberta Government has offered to release, for eastern Canadian consumption, the 30 year natural gas supply it maintains prior to exporting gas to other provinces. In return, the Federal Government must make the commitment to deliver to Alberta at a future date, an equivalent supply of gas. Acceptance of this offer would add approximately three years to future supplies.

These four steps Mr. Commissioner would bring the non-northern gas supply figures to 26 years, composed as follows: present reserves, 12 years; conservation 4 years; export cutbacks, 7 years; Alberta swap, 3 years.

Surely the churches and the native organizations are justified in asking:

"What's the rush to build the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline when there are so many unanswered questions?"
These are some of the realities behind our call for a

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1 moratorium and for the purpose of illustrating the
2 fact that southern whites need not "freeze to death in
3 the dark" while considering the moral and ethical
4 issues of northern development.

5 Now to our conclusions sir.

6 The conclusion that we have come to in Project North
7 is defined in terms then of the following objectives:

8 * A reduction in the per capita use of all forms of
9 energy consumed in Canada.

10 * A concerted national effort to develop alternative
11 sources of energy.

12 * Honouring the aboriginal rights of natives with
13 respect to the involvement of their lands and culture
14 in projects designed to provide energy for southern
15 Canadian and United States consumption.

16 * Full satisfaction that the ecology will not
17 not be adversely affected prior to the commencement of
18 any massive development project.

19 * The establishment of just royalty and tax provi-
20 sions to reduce the unreasonable profits of multi-
21 national companies and governments.

22 * The expenditure of natural resource revenues for
23 enhancing the total well-being of people instead of
24 being solely related to economic growth.

25 * The gradual reduction of oil and gas exports to
26 the United States and instead, the export of energy
27 at below international prices to underdeveloped countries.

28 Mr. Commissioner, we have the
29 time and we must use it for the sake of ourselves,
30 our children and all future generations of Canadians.

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1 We must learn from our native brothers and sisters
2 that our land and its resources are to be used for the
3 benefit of all people and not exploited for the
4 profits of a few.

5 Taking the time we have
6 suggested requires a moratorium on the Mackenzie
7 Valley Pipeline, a project so enormous that it will
8 reinforce, perhaps irrevocably, the high energy
9 consuming, materialistic, hedonistic lifestyle that is
10 so seriously under question by so many people in so
11 many ways.

12 The serious questions that
13 are now being raised by the panic resource dash to
14 our northern frontier may be a blessing in disguise.
15 For we in southern Canada are being forced to address
16 the realities of our current way of life. Are we
17 prepared to develop new sets of values, create new
18 social and economic structures that lead us into a
19 less materialistically oriented society, find new
20 forms of living and growing as people, search for
21 alternative patterns of resource development in such
22 a way that caring, sparing and sharing become a truly
23 human reality? We in southern Canada must soon wake
24 up to these extremely serious questions of our common
25 survival. How we address the issues of northern
26 development and how we respond to the cries for justice
27 of the native people of this country will serve to
28 indicate the ways in which we will begin to find
29 answers for these questions.

30 Since we represent positions

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1 taken by the churches, we feel we must conclude by
2 referring our discussion back to ourselves. What is
3 it that we can really do?

4 Since there are moral and
5 ethical issues that must be raised, then we have no
6 choice but to speak up in language that cannot be
7 misunderstood.

8 We have spoken today about
9 whether or not the project you are enquiring into
10 makes sense from an economic point of view. We have
11 declared ourselves on the environmental issues. We
12 have raised the question of the development of the
13 native people of the north. We have indicated the
14 serious need of all Canadians to address the basic
15 question of personal and corporate lifestyles. Others
16 have spoken to you over the last year-and-a-half and
17 more recently on the same subjects.

18 "In the final analysis..."

19 as the 1975 Roman Catholic Labour Day message reminded
20 us,

21 "...what is required is nothing less than funda-
22 mental social change. Until we as a society
23 begin to change our own lifestyles based on wealth
24 and comfort, until we begin to change the profit
25 oriented priorities of our industrial system, we
26 will continue placing exorbitant demands on the
27 limited supplies of energy in the north, and end
28 up exploiting the people of the north in order to
29 get those resources."

30 Therefore sir, we urge upon

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 Archbishop J. A. Watton

you the deepest consideration of our position that a moratorium on northern resource development be implemented to permit the work of restoration in our society to begin and to stop further development, exploration, drilling or the issuance of permits of any kind until all northern native land claims have been justly settled.

Mr. Commissioner, as an offer of real and practical help, we pledge here today to renew our commitment to stand openly and officially and wholeheartedly with the Dene and Inuit of the Mackenzie in their struggle for justice.

Thank you Mr. Commissioner.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much.

(SUBMISSION OF PROJECT NORTH - REV. RUSSELL HATTON
 - MARKED EXHIBIT C-544)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: I believe Mr. Commissioner, Dr. Hatton can correct me if I am wrong, that Reverend James Watton wishes to say something now. Archbishop Watton. Good. I'd call upon Archbishop Watton. The Bishop of Moosonee.

ARCHBISHOP JAMES A. WATTON, sworn

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner, I would first of all like to introduce to you my support as I appear before you in the august presence of the Bishop of Ottawa, and I bring him as an illustration that some good things can come out of Ottawa at times.

Archbishop J. A. Watton

I've asked that I might be given the privilege of speaking to you immediately following the brief presented by Project North, and I have done so, so that I might endorse the contents of that brief. To do so adequately, I suppose I should really have three heads; one for each of the three hats or if you would wish, martyrs, that I am called upon to wear in my present position. One of those hats or heads is representing the House of Bishops of the Anglican Church of Canada. Of course, the primate which appeared before me did that much more adequately.

The second is that of the metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario. Perhaps I should explain what that is because the church in its amazing way of mixing things up -- the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario also takes in the northern part of the Province of Quebec.

The third is that of the Bishop of the Diocese of Moosonee which encompasses the area of James Bay and the 8,000 Cree people of northern Quebec. It is this last hat that covers my gray hairs of concern, for I am daily dealing already with the results of precipitate development in the lives of people. The real tragedy of which the James Bay area is just one example, is that our world, western, industrialized, sophisticated and consumer oriented has come in so heavy-footed, iron-fisted and cold-hearted so quickly, so powerfully and so callously that we simply do not give the people a chance to adjust.

Archbishop J. A. Watton

I wish at this moment to take a bit of a tangent. Ten years ago, I would land in the Village of Fort George on the east coast of James Bay. It's the furthest north village and I would land there on the Fort George River in a Beaver, and for those who in the audience, don't know what a Beaver is, that's an airplane, not the animal, on floats. I would climb the 60 foot bank, shaking hands like a grand alaman^ad left with the people going up the bank, and in my visit in the community in the homes, I very quickly became a judge -- a good judge -- of the length of ^adog's chain for if I didn't do so, I would end up with the loss of one leg. That's ten years ago.

Five years ago, I would land on it with a DC-3 on a sand strip on the island, and then I soon became a judge of the skid part in a ski-doo, so that I would escape being run over by one of these machines.

This year, I landed on an enormous airfield that take the largest jets. I became a judge immediately on the speed of a truck -- four wheel drive truck, driven by the people of Fort George, whose people now drive over a paved highway, spending their weekends in Val-D'or, Quebec and some of them in Montreal. That change I think, or the facts that I've given you, illustrate the change in ten years in a people's life; and no people can make that kind of an adjustment without an absolute shattering of their life and their culture. That was my interjection just to illustrate the point of what society -- our society --

Archbishop J. A. Watton
Bishop A. Proulx

1 can do. We just overwhelm or overpower these people.

2 It is a course of action that
3 not only can be called, I think, "genocide" by its
4 right name, but will invite the reactions for
5 generations of those people yet to be born. There is
6 a deep mystical relationship with land which we
7 westerners cannot really appreciate anymore, which is
8 still very, very real to our native people. Even though
9 we may not be able to comprehend it on its deepest
10 level, we can at least respect it as a profoundly
11 spiritual way of looking at material creation from
12 which we may yet learn something of value.

13 So, I plead in supporting
14 the brief of the Project of the North. I plead not
15 just for the native peoples of the north, but I plead
16 also for us, the time to listen to them.

17 Thank you Mr. Commissioner.

18 (SUBMISSION OF ARCHBISHOP JAMES A. WATTON MARKED
19 EXHIBIT C-545)

20 (WITNESS ADSIDE)

21 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
22 I would call upon Bishop Adolphe Proulx.

23 BISHOP ADOLPHE PROULX, sworn;

24 THE WITNESS: Au nom de la
25 Commission des Affaires Sociales de la Conférence des
26 Evêques Catholiques du Canada, je désire exprimer
27 notre appui au Mémoire présenté a ces mattin par le
28 Plan Nordique. Nous considérons le Plan Nordique comme
29 un outil privilégié propre à donner suite à notre dernier
30 message de la Fete du Travail "Le Développement du Nord

Bishop A. Proulx

Canadien: A quel Prix?"

La lutte des Déné et des Inuit dans la Vallée du Mackenzie nous apparaît comme un signe d'espoir pour notre temps. Comme peuple, les Dene et les Inuit s'opposent à toute formes de développement de type colonial et maintiennent leur droit à l'auto-détermination. Dans leur lutte pour affirmer leurs droits, les Dene et les Inuit essaient d'obtenir le contrôle du leur propre destinée comme peuple afin d'assurer une vie plus décente pour leurs enfants et leurs petits enfants.

Nous, du sud du Canada avons beaucoup à apprendre de l'expérience des Dene et des Inuit. Dans notre société hautement industrialisée, un nombre de plus en plus grand de personnes s'aperçoivent qu'elles perdent le contrôle de leur propre destinée. Nos vies semblent de plus en plus contrôlées par les super-gouvernements et les corporations multinationales. Comme résultat, nous nous voyons de moins en moins capables de décider d'une manière responsable du bien-être des générations à venir.

La soi-disante "crise de l'énergie" illustre bien ce drame. La stratégie récente du Gouvernement Fédéral en énergie a permis à l'industrie pétrolière de mettre en branle tout un programme de développement rapide des ressources du nord Canadien. Mais ceci n'empêche pas les Canadiens du Sud de se poser des questions embarrassantes.

Une première question peut se poser de cette façon: qui prend les décisions sur nos

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1 besoins futurs en énergie et comment se prennent ces
 2 décisions? Il y a trois ans, le Gouvernement Fédéral
 3 et l'industrie énergétique nous affirmaient que le
 4 Canada devait quadrupler sa consommation d'huile, de gaz
 5 et d'électricité pour assurer notre qualité de vie.
 6 Mais que voulons nous dire par "qualité de vie"?
 7 Pourquoi est-elle toujours traduite en termes d'une
 8 consommation croissante de biens matériels? Et
 9 pourquoi les Canadiens ne sont-ils pas directement
 10 impliqués dans le processus de la prise de décision
 11 responsable quand il s'agit de nos besoins futurs en
 12 énergie?

13 En deuxième lieu, qui peut
 14 enfin nous dire la vérité au sujet de nos ressources
 15 énergétiques au Canada? On n'a jamais réussi à
 16 expliquer les fluctuations dramatiques entre les
 17 chiffres de 1971 et sur de 1974 au sujet de nos réserves
 18 d'huile et de gaz. Le Gouvernement Fédéral se tourne
 19 d'abord vers l'industrie pour obtenir cet inventaire
 20 et cela est loin de nous rassurer. Comment se fait-il
 21 qu'il n'y ait pas une source indépendante de
 22 renseignements qui pourrait fournir au peuple de ce
 23 pays des données plus précises quant à nos réserves
 24 d'huile et de gaz?

25 Troisièmement, qui profitera du
 26 développement rapide des ressources énergétiques du Nord
 27 Canadien? Il est clair maintenant que le Canada a
 28 promis des livraisons en gaz naturel aux Etats-Unis
 29 jusqu'en 1995, et que des corporations Américaines ont
 30 déjà mis la main sur une part substantielle du gaz dans

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1 le Delta du Mackenzie pour répondre aux demandes des
2 marchés de Californie. Ceci voudrait-il dire que les re-
3 ssources en gaz naturel du Nord Canadien doivent
4 être rapidement développées pour approvisionner les
5 centres industriels Américains?

6 Comme quatrième et dernière
7 question, M. le Commissaire, qui paiera les frais
8 du développement rapide des ressources énergétiques du
9 Nord? La nouvelle politique énergétique du gouvernement
10 nous indique bien que c'est le public Canadien qui
11 assumera le coût initial de ce projet en même temps
12 que les risques inhérents à la mise en marché de cette
13 énergie. Les augmentations sensibles des prix de
14 détail et les allocations aux corporations à même les
15 impôts des Canadiens suffisent à nous le démontrer.
16 Cela veut-il dire que les fonds nécessaires à l'habita-
17 tion, aux centres hospitaliers et à d'autres services
18 sociaux seront plutôt acheminés vers la mise en valeur
19 coûteuse de l'énergie nordique?

20 Le peuple Canadien doit
21 résolument faire face à ces questions embarrassantes,
22 M. Le Commissaire, avant de procéder au développement
23 de l'énergie du nord Canadien. C'est pourquoi, nous
24 estimons qu'il y va de l'intérêt national, d'imposer un
25 moratoire au développement du nord. Nous nous devons
26 comme nation, de prendre le temps nécessaire à l'élabora-
27 tion de politiques et de programmes variés en énergie,
28 programmes et politiques qui seront vraiment fondés sur
29 un idéal élevé de gestion responsable. Mon voeu le plus
30 ardent, M. le Commissaire, c'est que nous ayons le

courage de participer davantage au contrôle de notre propre destinée et que nous prenions maintenant des décisions vraiment responsables pour le plus grand bien des générations actuelles et futures.

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ABOVE:

The struggle of the Dene and the Inuit in the Mackenzie Valley is a sign of hope in our times. As a people, the Dene and the Inuit are opposing all forms of colonial development and asserting their right to self determination. In their struggle to establish their aboriginal rights, the Dene and the Inuit are attempting to gain control of their own destiny as a people for the sake of their children and grandchildren.

We in southern Canada have much to learn from the experience of the Dene and the Inuit. In our highly industrialized society, more and more people are experiencing a loss of control over their own destinies. Our lives seem to be increasingly dominated by large governments and multinational corporations. As a result, we find ourselves less and less able to

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1 make responsible decisions for the sake of future
2 generations.

3 The so-called "energy crisis"
4 poses a dramatic illustration. The Federal
5 Government's recent energy strategy has set the
6 stage for the petroleum industry to go ahead with
7 the rapid development of Canada's northern energy.
8 Yet, there are some disturbing questions for
9 southern Canadians.

10 First, who makes the decisions
11 about our future energy needs and how should these
12 decisions be made? Three years ago, the Federal
13 Government and the energy industry were telling us
14 that Canada's consumption of oil, gas and electrici-
15 ty would have to multiply four more times by the
16 end of the century to protect our quality of life
17 and our standard of living. But what is this
18 "quality of life"? Why is it always defined in
19 terms of increasing consumption of material goods?
20 And why are the people of Canada not directly
21 involved in making conscious decisions about our
22 future energy needs?

23 Second, who can tell us the
24 truth about our existing supplies of energy in
25 Canada. The dramatic fluctuations between the
26 1971 and 1974 estimates of oil and gas reserves
27 have never been adequately explained. The disturbing
28 fact is that the Federal Government relies primarily
29 on the energy industry for these estimates. But why
30 is there no independent source of information to

provide the people of this country with the truth
about Canada's oil and gas supplies?

Third, who will benefit from the rapid development of energy resources in the Canadian north? It is now clear that Canada has made export commitments of natural gas to the United States until 1995 and that U.S. oil companies already have control over a substantial portion of gas in the Mackenzie Delta for export to California markets. Does this mean that Canada's northern supplies of natural gas are to be rapidly developed now to feed industrial centers in the United States?

Fourth Mr. Commissioner, who will pay for the rapid development of northern energy resources? The government's new energy strategy indicates that the Canadian public will underwrite much of the initial cost and risk involved in developing this northern energy through sharp increases in consumer prices and further allocations of tax dollars. Does this also mean that public funds required for housing, hospitals and other social services will be used to pay for the expensive development of northern energy?

These disturbing questions, Mr. Commissioner must be faced by the people of this country before proceeding with the energy development in the Canadian north. It is, therefore, in the national interest that a moratorium be called on northern development. We need to take the time as a nation to develop alternative

Bishop A. Proulx

1 energy policies and programs based on the values
2 of responsible stewardship. I hope and pray,
3 Mr. Commissioner, that we have the courage to
4 take greater control of our own destiny and make
5 responsible decisions now for the sake of our
6 children and our grandchildren.

7 Thank you.)

8 (SUBMISSION OF ADOLPHE PROULX MARKED EXHIBIT
9 C-546)

10 (WITNESS ASIDE)

11 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,

12 I have a telegram
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1 that I received for you from Vancouver, and it
2 reads as follows:

3 "During the Habitat Conference, the rights
4 of all peoples of this planet earth , to
5 seek self-determination and control over
6 their own lives, has been the central
7 theme. In the past week at Habitat Forum
8 about 175 participants from more than 20
9 nations gathered under the auspices of the
10 World Council of Churches, heard Canada's
11 native peoples, described their struggles
12 for social justice in their own country.
13 Land is essential to the native people's
14 way of life. For those who live in the far
15 north, the only hope to secure some measure
16 of control over their own lives is through
17 just settlement of their land claims. It is
18 imperative, therefore, that no large-scale
19 development be started before the Indian,
20 Metis, and Inuit of the Northwest Territories
21 settle their aboriginal claims. We therefore
22 support the position taken by Project North
23 (the inter-church project on northern devel-
24 opment) at your Inquiry in calling for a
25 moratorium on all resource development in
26 the N.W.T., including the Mackenzie Valley
27 Pipeline, in order to provide the time
28 required to achieve just land settlements
29 and a more responsible stewardship of energy
30 use in this country."

1 It's signed by James Sarpei S-A-R-P-E-I, of the
2 Country of Ghana, Chairman of the Steering Committee,
3 World Council of Churches, Habitat, Vancouver.

4 Mr. Commissioner, we're
5 going to take a coffee break now and there's coffee
6 available in the main lounge, and we'd ask the people
7 here to join us for a cup of coffee, but because of
8 the time required for the briefs that we will be
9 having after the coffee break, I would ask them to
10 just take ten minutes and to keep to that deadline
11 religiously.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
13 Take ten minutes.

14 (SUBMISSION BY WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,
15 HABITAT CONFERENCE, MARKED EXHIBIT C-547)
16 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR TEN MINUTES)
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A.W. Birnie

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Ladies and gentlemen, we'll call our hearing to order so that we can consider the briefs of those who are still to be heard this morning.

MR. WADDELL: The next brief, Mr. Commissioner, is from the Industrial Gas Users Association.

A.W. BIRNIE, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner, my name is A.W. Birnie, and I am the executive secretary of the Industrial Gas Users Association.

The Industrial Gas Users Association (hereinafter referred to as IGUA) is an association comprised of 17 companies which was formed to represent the interests of its members as major industrial users of natural gas in Eastern Canada. The member companies of IGUA are as follows:

- . Abitibi Paper Company Limited
- . Aciers Atlas Steels
- . Allied Chemical Canada Ltd.
- . Brockville Chemical Industries Ltd.
- . Canadian Industries Ltd.
- . Cyanamid of Canada Ltd.
- . Domtar Ltd.
- . Du Pont of Canada Ltd.
- . Great Lakes Paper Company Ltd.
- . International Minerals & Chemical Corporation (Canada) Ltd.

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- 1 . International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd.
- 2 . Ontario Paper Company Ltd.
- 3 . Polysar Ltd.
- 4 . Quebec Metal Powders Ltd.
- 5 . Reed Ltd.
- 6 . Spruce Falls Power & Paper Company Ltd.
- 7 . Union Carbide Canada Ltd.

8 Broadly speaking, the gas-
9 using operations of IGUA's members can be grouped into
10 forest-based, ammonia-producing, and other chemical-
11 producing, metal-refining and steel-making industries.
12 These industries use large quantities of natural gas
13 purchased from distributors in the western, northern,
14 and eastern rate zones of the pipeline system of Trans-
15 Canada Pipelines Limited.

16 IGUA's members use gas
17 primarily as a source of process heat and feedstock,
18 with space heating accounting for minor gas volumes.
19 The use of gas as a source of heat can be sub-divided
20 into direct and indirect applications of gas in various
21 stages of certain manufacturing processes of IGUA's
22 members.

23 The adequacy of supply and
24 the cost of natural gas and of energy and feedstock sour-
25 ces in general is of significant importance to the
26 continuing economic success of the gas-using manufac-
27 turing operations of IGUA's members. The products
28 from these operations are sold in Canada and in export
29 markets in competition with those of foreign companies,
30 mainly located in the United States.

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1 As discussed more fully
2 below, IGUA is concerned about the adequacy of gas
3 supplies to meet Canadian requirements beyond 1980
4 and in particular the gas requirements of industry.
5 It is of urgent importance that means be found to
6 supplement gas supplies from the conventional gas-
7 producing regions with gas supplies from the Mackenzie
8 Delta or other frontier region, as soon as can be
9 reasonably and economically achieved.

10 IGUA recognizes that the
11 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was established by
12 the Government of Canada to enquire into and report
13 on the terms and conditions that should be imposed by
14 the Government of Canada, should a pipeline be built
15 to bring gas from the Canadian Arctic in order to
16 limit the impact which such a pipeline might have on the
17 north. Nevertheless IGUA submits that the timing and
18 cost of delivering gas from the north is of very
19 considerable importance to Southern Canada. Accordingly,
20 the matter of developing appropriate safeguards for
21 the north to avoid unreasonable deleterious effects
22 on the north of building and operating a pipeline,
23 requires some consideration of the effect on Southern
24 Canada of unreasonable delay in installing a pipeline
25 to bring gas to Southern Canada, and of imposing over-
26 costly construction and operating constraints on such
27 a pipeline.

28 The matter of supply, deliver-
29 ability and requirements of gas from northern fron-
30 tier areas will be considered by the National Energy

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1 Board. IGUA's understanding of the currently projec-
2 ted gas supply position is, however, that within two
3 years gas supply available to TransCanada Pipelines
4 which supplies virtually all the gas used in Eastern
5 Canada, may be inadequate to meet current requirements
6 of industrial customers. This threat of potential
7 imminent shortage is heightened by continued export
8 of gas to the United States and by increasing sale
9 of gas to commercial and residential customers.

10 It is the adequacy of
11 supplies to meet industrial use requirements shortly
12 after 1978 that is of major concern to IGUA. The
13 most recently published findings of the National Energy
14 Board recorded in its April, 1975 Report on Supply,
15 Deliverability & Requirements of Natural Gas for use
16 in Canada, are that in absence of delivery of gas
17 from the frontier areas, supply of gas east of Alberta
18 will probably be inadequate to meet both domestic and
19 export requirements within a year or two; and further,
20 that even if exports were to be discontinued to the
21 extent necessary to meet growing domestic requirements,
22 the gas supply from conventional areas would be inade-
23 quate to meet forecast domestic requirements beyond
24 1984. Discontinuance of exports at the beginning of
25 1976 (which has not occurred), the N.E.B. found, would
26 do little to extend the period of adequacy of gas
27 supply to meet Canadian requirements, much beyond 1984.

28 Thus one of IGUA's concerns
29 in relation to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry
30 is that your recommendations, Mr. Commissioner, follow-

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1 ing completion of your Inquiry be such that the
2 eventual construction of a pipeline to bring gas from
3 the northern frontier in conformity with such recommen-
4 dations can be completed before gas supply to Canadian
5 industrial users is seriously curtailed. It is IGUA's
6 understanding that in the event of a deficiency in
7 supply of gas, industrial use of gas will be curtailed
8 before residential and commercial use. Thus any short-
9 fall in gas supply would have to be borne by industrial
10 users.

11 A second concern of IGUA is
12 that the price of gas delivered in Eastern Canada could
13 be considerably higher than the price of gas to indus-
14 trial users in the United States, particularly in the
15 gas-producing areas of the Gulf Coast. Gas prices in
16 Eastern Canada are already substantially higher than
17 the average prices in the U.S. Gulf Coast. Such a
18 situation will eventually weaken the competitiveness
19 of Canadian industry, resulting in harmful economic
20 effects to Canada. The relevance of this possibility
21 to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry is that the cost
22 of any measures recommended for the economic, environ-
23 mental and social protection of the north must be borne
24 by all users of gas delivered by any pipeline through
25 the north. If such costs render gas significantly
26 higher in price to Canadian industrial users than those
27 of competitors in the United States, the economic con-
28 tribution to Canada of such industries will be reduced.

29 The economic significance of
30 the effects of too high gas prices or of curtailment of

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1 gas^{supplies} to the members of IGUA is difficult to
2 estimate reliably. It may be of some assistance to
3 the Inquiry to judge the potential seriousness of such
4 effects, to consider the following information concern-
5 ing the economics of gas usage by IGUA members.

6 1. In 1976, IGUA's members will use approximately
7 108 billion cubic feet of gas at a cost of \$140 million.
8 The gas usage of 108 B.C.F. will constitute about 8%
9 of total gas usage in Canada and 15 % of total gas
10 usage by industry in Canada.

11 2. The 1974 depreciated book value of the capital
12 investment in gas-using operations in Ontario and
13 Quebec of the 14 companies who were members of IGUA
14 in 1974, amounted to \$1,152 billion. Assuming
15 continued availability of gas, IGUA's members intend
16 to invest a further \$660 millions in such operations
17 over the next two years.

18 The annual wages and salaries
19 paid by IGUA members in 1974 to 35,000 employees in
20 their gas-using operations amounted to some \$553 million.
21 Payments for goods and services amounted to \$817
22 million, much of these payments accruing to the benefit
23 of the areas in which the respective gas-using opera-
24 tions are located.

25 3. The cost of frontier gas delivered in Eastern
26 Canada is expected to be considerably higher than that
27 of gas currently delivered from the conventional gas-
28 producing areas. Estimated minimum delivered price of
29 Mackenzie Delta gas, at Toronto, of approximately
30 \$2.50 per M.C.F. is forecast, and is approximately \$1.25

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1 per M.C.F. above current prices. Such a price increase
2 applied to IGUA members' gas purchases would amount to
3 \$135 million a year.

4 4. Cost increases of such magnitude to IGUA members
5 incorporated in the prices of their products, would
6 cause severe market dislocation if corresponding cost
7 increases were not incurred by competitors. Absorption
8 of even a small portion of such gas cost increases
9 would severely depress the profitability of IGUA mem-
10 bers. Such severe increases in gas costs are not
11 expected to apply to major industrial gas users in the
12 United States until considerably later than now appears
13 likely to be applied in Canada. Thus it is important
14 that the cost of producing and delivering frontier
15 gas be no higher than is absolutely necessary.

16 5. Having regard to the fact that the majority of
17 the employees of IGUA's members resides in non-urban
18 areas, which as a rule are considered lacking econom-
19 ic development and employment, it is apparent that
20 IGUA's members rank importantly within the non-urban
21 economies of Ontario and Quebec. Indirectly, IGUA's
22 purchases of goods and services generate employment
23 within and outside the economies of Ontario and Quebec.
24 If IGUA's gas-using operations were to suffer from gas
25 supply curtailments and excessive gas purchase cost
26 increases, the viability of these areas depending on
27 these operations would in many cases be severely
28 threatened, especially at so-called one-industry
29 locations.

30 6. The economic importance of IGUA's members gas-using

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operations goes well beyond the direct contribution of such operations. Downstream use of products produced in these operations is vital to the continued well-being of other industries dependent upon materials produced by IGUA members. For example, the continued supply of ammonia-based fertilizers is of great importance to the agricultural and food industry.

IGUA respectfully requests, Mr. Commissioner, that you take appropriate note of the serious concerns of industrial gas users about the need for achieving delivery of gas from the northern frontier in a timely and economic way.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much.

(SUBMISSION BY INDUSTRIAL GAS USERS ASSOCIATION
- A.W. BIRNIE - MARKED EXHIBIT C-548)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I'd like to call now on ^{Dr.}Theodore Mosquin of the Canadian Nature Federation.

THEODORE MOSQUIN, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner, my name is Theodore Mosquin. I am the executive director of the Canadian Nature Federation and I am here representing our Board of Directors who have formally approved this statement at a meeting on May 19th.

I want to first say a few words about our Federation. The Canadian Nature

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1 Federation was formed in 1971 out of the Canadian
2 Audubon Society. The Federation started with 1,800
3 members; over the past four years our membership has
4 increased to 20,000. In addition to speaking for our
5 members, we are also representing about 120 provincial
6 naturalists' federations and local societies, one or
7 more in nearly every major town in Canada. In this
8 province, for example, we are speaking for the Federa-
9 tion of ONTario Naturalists, and some 45 other societies
10 with an estimated combined membership in the province
11 of about 25,000.

12 Our Federation is not a pres-
13 sure group in the usual sense that such groups repres-
14 ent mainly the interests of a limited number of people;
15 rather we consider ourselves to be in a special category
16 in that we advocate a set of social values centering
17 around nature. These values are held by nearly all
18 people. Our concern is that these natural values be
19 adequately spoken for in places where decisions are
20 made. We see our organization as playing a strong
21 role in portraying wildlife and the natural environments
22 of Canada to people who have not tended to think much
23 of nature as part of the cultural heritage of the
24 country.

25 In our view, the growth of the
26 Canadian Natural Federation in the past few years is
27 due to the fact that there are thousands of people out
28 there who feel that governments are not adequately
29 looking after their interests in protecting the price-
30 less assets of the environment; many of these people

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1 have turned to us to speak for them and we try our
 2 best with our limited resources.

3 Mr. Commissioner, before
 4 getting into the body of our submission, I want to let
 5 you know how grateful our Federation is to you for
 6 funding the Northern Assessment Group. As you know,
 7 the Canadian Nature Federation was one of the five
 8 organizations that established the Northern Assessment
 9 Group in 1974, for it was essential that environmental
 10 groups have some research capability independent of
 11 industry and government. Adequate funding for environ-
 12 mental intervenors is something that is sadly lacking
 13 in this country. Without your support our Federation
 14 through NAG -- of our Federation through NAG it
 15 would have been impossible for us and other environ-
 16 mental organizations to conduct a meaningful assess-
 17 ment of the pipeline application.

18 At the outset, I would like to
 19 say that the Canadian Nature Federation is not opposed
 20 in principle to the building of a pipeline up the
 21 Mackenzie Valley.

22 However, we are concerned that
 23 the Government of Canada has not been following the
 24 objectives, priorities and strategies for northern
 25 development as detailed in the report,

26 "Northern Canada in the '70s,"
 27 which was presented to the Standing Committee on Indian
 28 Affairs & Northern Development on March 28, 1972. The
 29 report might best be summarized by the following
 30 quotations:

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1 "In the course of its policy review, the
2 government affirmed that the needs of the people
3 of the north are more important than resource
4 development and that the maintenance of ecological
5 balance is essential;" and

6 "...the essence of choice for government is
7 to maintain an appropriate degree of balance
8 among these three elements."

9 The three being people, resources, and the environment.

10 Unfortunately, the government
11 has not ~~maintained~~ any balance between these three
12 elements. In fact, only the exploitation of natural
13 resources, especially oil and natural gas, has received
14 priority treatment from government.

15 In the Mackenzie Valley
16 -- in the Mackenzie Delta, rather, and Tuktoyaktuk
17 Peninsula region not one square inch of land and water
18 has been allocated for parks; not one square inch has
19 been allocated for hunting, fishing and trapping areas
20 for the native peoples; and not one square inch has
21 been allocated for ecological reserves or wilderness
22 areas.

23 Why this has happened is not
24 at all clear, but what is crystal clear is that if the
25 government had followed its objectives, priorities and
26 strategies outlined in,

27 "Northern Canada in the 1970s,"
28 many of the concerns, doubts and fears raised before
29 the Commission would have been resolved in a rational
30 and enlightened manner.

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The Canadian Nature Federation believes that the only reason for extracting any Canadian resource, or for developing any Canadian industry is to sustain or improve the quality of Canadian life. Developments are only worthwhile if they contribute to the unity, strength and independence of our country; to the creation of communities that are healthy, varied, secure and stimulating; to the creation of challenging, long-lasting and rewarding jobs and investment opportunities for Canadians; and to safeguard our environment, including the vast natural areas so important to our culture and heritage.

Canadians must learn to live in balance with nature and their resources. We can learn a great deal from the Inuit and Indians who long ago developed a no-growth society, using almost no resource that was not renewable. Their food, clothing, fuel and shelter all were derived from renewable resources. In the case of the Inuit, they achieved this in one of the harshest and ^{severest} regions of the world.

We believe that this concept of balance must be incorporated into the decision-making process with respect to the future of Northern Canada. This is especially important because our knowledge and understanding of Arctic ecosystems is still inadequate and incomplete and valuable resources may be lost if development is allowed over the entire face of the north.

One way to maintain this balance is to allocate areas for a variety of social

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1 and scientific reasons -- wilderness and hunting,
2 fishing and trapping reserves, the most important being
3 that options still remain open as long as the land and
4 water has not been changed and degraded. These options
5 for future use are jeopardized or cancelled when a
6 bulldozer rips out trails and lines across tundra and
7 dams streams and rivers.

8 Wilderness might be best
9 defined as,

10 "a remote area of unsettled land which is
11 not yet being used for commercial purposes."

12 The United States Wilderness Act considers wilderness
13 "an area of undeveloped federal land retaining
14 its primeval character and influence, without
15 permanent improvements or human habitation,
16 which is protected and managed so as to preserve
17 its natural conditions."

18 Wilderness, as an ever-increasing
19 number of Canadians are discovering, is not just
20 rocks, plants, animals and water -- more than just
21 scenery. Wilderness is the opportunity to become
22 attuned to the realities of nature, far removed from
23 the artificialities of modern life. Wilderness is the
24 opportunity to pit one's self against primitive
25 conditions; and increasingly, wilderness is a place
26 for plants and animals which have nowhere else to go.

27 The Canadian Nature Federation
28 believes that whatever is done north of 60, it must
29 not significantly degrade or destroy natural environ-
30 ments or significantly decrease wildlife populations.

1 For example, our Federation
2 is completely opposed to the recent government decision
3 to allow Dome Petroleum to conduct offshore drilling
4 operations in the Beaufort Sea. We feel that adequate
5 environmental safeguards do not exist.

6 The International Biological
7 Program recognized several years ago that biological
8 and related values are vital scientific and economic
9 resources that have generally been neglected. In 1968 the
10 Canadian Committee for the International Biological
11 Program was established and supported by the National
12 Research Council. Panels of noted scientists were
13 recruited from all the regions of Canada, including
14 two panels for the north. The task of these panels
15 was to select areas of biological, geological and
16 historical importance that urgently require special
17 protection.

18 In 1975 Panel 9 of the
19 I.B.P. published a report entitled:

20 "Ecological Sites in Northern Canada,"
21 and Panel 10 published a report entitled:

22 "I.B.P. Ecological Sites in Sub-Arctic Canada."
23 These reports list the areas of the north deemed
24 important for ecological reasons after careful study
25 by the I.B.P. panels. Copies of these reports were
26 tabled last year at your hearings in Yellowknife.

27 Although the government
28 has had recommendations for the preservation of these
29 areas for some time, no action has been taken to
30 allocate any of them. The Canadian Nature Federation

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urges that immediate attention be given to the reports of I.B.P. Panels 9 and 10, as some of the proposed areas are threatened by oil and gas exploration and development and may be affected by the construction and maintenance of the proposed pipeline.

I want to comment on the Canadian Arctic Wildlife Range. As ecologist George Calef wrote:

"In the Northern Yukon lies a land richer in wildlife, in variety of landscape and vegetation, and in archaeological value than any other in the Canadian Arctic. Here high mountains, spruce forests, tundra, wide flats of lakes and ponds, majestic valleys, a major river delta, and the Arctic sea coast come together to form the living fabric of an Arctic wilderness."

As the late Blair Fraser, a noted wilderness traveller said,

"North lies a different kind of land -- too barren ever to be thickly settled, too bleak to be popular. There is no doubt it will always be there, and so long as it is there, Canada will not die."

Unfortunately, events of the past decade cast serious doubts as to whether the north of Calef and the north of Fraser will in fact "be there" as they knew it.

It is the considered opinion of the Canadian Nature Federation that a vital step towards preserving some of Arctic Canada and at the same time not interfering greatly with the exploitation of Arctic resources would be the creation of the

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Canadian Arctic Wildlife Range.

The proposed range would encompass about nine million acres in the Northern Yukon, contiguous to that already established Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska. Together they would form an 18-million acre International Arctic Wildlife Range. The proposed range lies from the Alaska-Yukon border south to the Porcupine River, east to just beyond the Bell River, and north to the Beaufort Sea coast just east of the Blow River. (A detailed description and maps are contained in the appendix to this submission).

There are many important reasons why this area should be protected. One of the most important is that the area was free from ice during the Pleistocene glaciations. Therefore the plants and animal species have existed there continuously for hundreds of thousands of years, evolving together. They are the hereditary sources of a large part of the present Canadian flora and fauna which spread eastward across the Arctic lands and southward along the mountains after the glaciers retreated.

Another important reason for the proposed range is the protection of calving and summering grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd, which numbers over 100,000. Every spring the great herd moves slowly northward, one of the last great wildlife spectacles in the world. The caribou are vital to the survival of the native peoples in the area, who have hunted them for thousands of years. The herd

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1 does not respect international boundaries; they some-
2 times calve in Canada, sometimes in Alaska.

3 The area is also important
4 for many species of birds, especially waterfowl and
5 shorebirds. Tens of thousands of geese gather on the
6 foothill tundra of the Northern Yukon to build up a
7 store of fat to power their migratory journey south.
8 Many species nest in the area, particularly the Old
9 Crow Flats -- such species as scaup, scoters, oldsquaw,
10 teal, swans, mallard and widgeon.

11 The proposed Wildlife Range
12 also affords sanctuary to such rare species as the
13 peregrine falcon, golden eagle, and whistling swan.

14 Some of the earliest records
15 of man in North America have been discovered within
16 the borders of the proposed range and a great deal of
17 work needs to be done to fully probe and interpret
18 these findings.

19 A major threat to the proposed
20 range and its counterpart in Alaska is the Canadian
21 Arctic Gas Pipeline to bring natural gas from Prudhoe
22 Bay to southern North America. The suggested prime
23 route of the pipeline would cut through both ranges,
24 causing considerable ecological damage and destroying
25 the wilderness character of part of the area.

26 It is the opinion of the
27 Canadian Nature Federation that this problem could be
28 overcome, if permission to build a pipeline through
29 the range areas in Canada and Alaska was denied and
30 the alternative so-called Fairbanks corridor route was

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utilized instead. This route follows the Alyeska Oil Pipeline route to Fairbanks, then the Alaska Highway until it joins existing pipelines in Northern British Columbia and Alberta. This has the advantage of utilizing existing rights-of-way along almost the entire route and minimizing ecological damage. If sufficient natural gas is found in the Mackenzie Delta, a pipeline could be constructed along the Dempster Highway to Dawson and south to Whitehorse.

The Government of Canada has a number of options if it wishes to move quickly to create the Canadian Arctic Wildlife Range, as follows:

1. Designate the area as a Wildlife Range under Section 18(e) of the Yukon Territorial Lands Act.
2. Amend the Territorial Game Ordinance or promulgate regulations thereunder to set aside the area as a Wildlife Range.
3. Designate the area as a land management zone to achieve maximum protection of sensitive environmental values under Section 3-A of the Territorial Lands Act.
4. Designate an area under Section 4 of the Canada Wildlife Act as public lands required for wildlife research and conservation.

In October, 1970, an important conference was held for the purpose of studying the proposal to establish the Canadian Arctic Wildlife Range. A number of resolutions were passed, among them a resolution that the Government of Canada should act quickly to establish the proposed range. The text of these resolutions is contained in the appendix to this

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1 submission.

2 In 1971, a detailed concept
 3 for establishing and managing the range was forwarded
 4 to officials of the Department of Indian Affairs &
 5 Northern Development by officials of the Arctic
 6 International Wildlife Range Society.

7 The Canadian Nature Federation
 8 believes that since then the proposal, including
 9 detailed recommendations, has been kept secret by
 10 top-level bureaucrats in the Indian Affairs & Northern
 11 Development Department. We further believe that this
 12 proposal should be given immediate attention and that
 13 a special committee be established to recommend how
 14 the proposal might best be implemented. This committee
 15 should include representatives from government, conser-
 16 vation associations, native organizations and industry.

17 The Canadian Nature Federation
 18 believes that there is a small number of birds and
 19 mammals that should receive special protection because
 20 they are threatened with extinction because of a number
 21 of factors.

22 The International Union for the
 23 Conservation of Nature & Natural Resources classifies
 24 threatened species as follows:

25 "Threatened species" - actively threatened with
 26 extinction. Continued survival unlikely without the
 27 implementation of special protective measures.

28 "Rare species" - not under immediate threat of
 29 extinction, but occurring in such small numbers and/or
 30 in such a restricted or specialized habitat that it

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1 could quickly disappear.

2 In the Mackenzie Delta the
3 following species should receive special attention:
4 the peregrine falcon, the Eskimo curlew, the Hudsonian
5 godwit, the barren ground grizzly, and a little farther
6 south, the well-known whooping crane. Hydro corridors
7 should not be permitted anywhere near the whooping
8 crane nesting grounds.

9 The Canadian Nature Federation
10 believes that all these species should be the subject
11 of special study and areas vital to their survival
12 should be set aside as reserves.

13 I'm going to turn to the
14 recommendations. Because the implications of the
15 pipeline are so broad for northern development and
16 for the future of Canada, the Canadian Nature Federation
17 requests that the following recommendations be given
18 consideration before the final report to the Govern-
19 ment of Canada is prepared:

20 1. A substantial part of the land and water areas
21 north of the 60th Parallel should be allocated for
22 International Biological Program ecological sites,
23 Wildlife Refuges, game sanctuaries, wilderness preserves,
24 National Parks, recreational areas, or hunting, trap-
25 ping or fishing preserves.

26 Section 4 of the Canada
27 Wildlife Act might be used to set vital areas aside
28 until necessary legislation is passed.

29 2. The Government of Canada should immediately
30 establish the Canadian Arctic Wildlife Range. Further,

1 the Government of Canada should negotiate an agreement
2 with the United States to create the Arctic International
3 Wildlife Range which would combine the existing Arctic
4 National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska with the proposed
5 Canadian Range in the Yukon.

6 3. There should be much stricter enforcement of
7 legislation enacted to protect the northern environment.

8 4. The Government of Canada should act immediately
9 to set aside the areas recommended by Panels 9 and 10
10 of the International Biological Program.

11 Thank you.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
13 very much.

14 (SUBMISSION OF CANADIAN NATURE FEDERATION -

15 T. MOSQUIN - MARKED EXHIBIT C-549)

16 (WITNESS ASIDE)

17 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
18 we have some further briefs from this morning but I'm
19 going to ask that those briefs be heard first thing
20 this afternoon. That includes the Civil Liberties
21 Association of the National Capital District, and the
22 Canadian Wildlife Federation, who will be giving their
23 brief also on behalf of the Committee for Justice &
24 Liberty. So we'll hear from those people first thing
25 this afternoon.

26 MR. ROLAND: Mr. Commissioner,
27 as indicated at the opening of the hearing this morn-
28 ing, our procedural rules permit each of the two pipe-
29 line companies, as well as the major participants,
30 to respond to submissions heard this morning for a

Dr. D. Pimlott

1 period not exceeding ten minutes. Dr. Doug Pimlott,
2 advisor to the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, has
3 indicated to me that he wishes to exercise that right
4 this morning, and Darryl Carter, counsel to Arctic
5 Gas, has indicated that his client also wishes to
6 exercise that right this morning.

7 I propose to call upon Dr.
8 Pimlott first.

9
10 DR. DOUGLAS PIMLOTT, resumed:

11 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner
12 I wish to react this morning on a point of information
13 which was contained -- which was provided in the
14 brief by Project North. Dr. Hatton referred to the
15 two hats which were worn by the Minister of Indian &
16 Northern Affairs, one of these as being a legal
17 guardian of native rights, in Canada, and the second
18 to ensure development of Canada's north.

19 In fact, the Minister of
20 Indian & Northern Affairs wears three hats, the third
21 one is as guardian of the Arctic environment, and
22 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and the organiza-
23 tions associated with it in the Northern Assessment
24 Group have many times pointed out to the incongruity of
25 the situation where the department which has the
26 primary role of developing the resource also has, is
27 charged with protecting the environment.

28 In spite of the fact that
29 Environment Canada was established in 1971, in the
30 words of the speech from the throne of 1970,

Dr. D. Pimlott

1 "To resolve the inherent conflict of
2 interest between those who seek the exploit-
3 ation of non-renewable resources and those
4 who are charged with the responsibility of
5 protecting the environment."

6 In fact, Environment Canada has not been given any
7 mandate north of the 60th Parallel, that is in the
8 Northwest Territories or the Yukon, which is the one
9 area of Canada where the jurisdictional conflicts
10 would not exist between provincial rights and federal
11 rights. In important pieces of environmental legis-
12 lation which have been enacted in the '70s, for example,
13 the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, the Northern
14 Inland Waters Act, the Amendments to the Territorial
15 Lands Act, and the Land Use Regulations under that
16 Act are administered entirely by the Department of
17 Indian & Northern Affairs, and Department of the
18 Environment has only a relatively minor advisory role.

19 It results in a situation
20 where there are grave conflicts of interest because
21 not only is this role exercised by the Department of
22 Indian & Northern Affairs, but it is exercised by
23 the -- under the wing of the Indian Department of Indian
24 & Northern Affairs that has the primary responsibility
25 for the development of resources. There is a conserva-
26 tion section of the Department of Indian & Northern
27 Affairs, and the mandate is not given to that section
28 but is in fact exercised by the section which is over-
29 seen by the Assistant Deputy Minister of Northern
30 Affairs, and who is very active in the promotion of

Dr. D. Pimlott
B. Hollands

resource development.

Thank you, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
Dr. Pimlott.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. CARTER: Sir, I'd like
to call Mr. Bud Hollands. Mr. Hollands is the
general manager of employee relations and public
affairs for Canadian Arctic Gas, and he has been
responsible for the last four years for the development
of Arctic Gas' policies with respect to training and
employment of northerners during both the construction
and operation of the pipeline. He also represents
Arctic Gas on the Steering Committee of the Northern
Training Program. He will be giving evidence later
in Yellowknife during the presentation of our Phase 4
case, but he has a few comments he'd like to make at
this time.

THE COMMISSIONER: Fine.

BUD HOLLANDS, unsworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
we will respond later today to a number of items that
have been raised this morning. At this point I would
like to limit the discussion to matters related to
training and employment.

The two areas that I'd like
to dwell on are (1) the opportunities that we think
exist for northerners in employment, and
(2) the degree of interest that

B. Hollands

1 northerners have shown in employment.

2 I've noted a few figures
3 that I'd like to present as a backdrop for the state-
4 ments that I make.

5 The first are that there
6 have been a fairly wide range of estimates made as to
7 the availability of manpower in what we term the
8 Mackenzie corridor, and specifically with respect to
9 native availability. These estimates seem to range
10 anywhere from between 1,000 to 2,000 employable northern
11 natives, and it all depends on the study that's been
12 made and the basis under which the studies have been
13 done, and we hope to be responding more to that when
14 we're visiting with you in Yellowknife.

15 There are two parts, I think,
16 that we can look at in terms of the availability, and
17 it might logically be divided between construction and
18 the operations of the pipeline. I think, as you heard
19 from the Nortran witnesses -- the Northern Training
20 management witnesses -- the emphasis of that program
21 is on long-term operating jobs, and not jobs that
22 are necessarily associated with construction.

23 On the construction side,
24 the appearance says that there will be a manpower
25 requirement with estimates between 1,600 and 5,700
26 man years in a time frame of about five years. With
27 respect to operations, which is the area that concerns
28 us most, the Arctic Gas Pipeline operation would
29 require some 200 employees north of 60.

30 The exploration, production,

The secondary and cursory that jobs/will come from this kind of a development are in addition to these and I won't comment on the numbers. Numerically, however, it's evident that there will be a large number of jobs to be filled, not just in construction but in the operational phase.

I think we would be remiss in saying that -- rather if I didn't say that we can't get into a project the magnitude that this one is without recognizing that there will be problems. We're aware that there are problems. We have ^{this} program going at the present time which is allowing us to learn the methods by which we might handle some of these problems as we go along, and we hope that in the construction and operation of the pipeline that we will minimize the problems.

The future of what we propose to be able to do is interesting and promising, we think, for northerners who are interested in wage employment. I'd be the first to say that it's not nearly as meaningful as what we -- what has been done in the way of employment, and I would like to take just a couple of minutes to talk about that.

B. Hollands

1 The Nortran program, which has
2 been in place for some five years now, wasn't estab-
3 lished as a social program. It was established because
4 there was^a recognition that there were employable people
5 in the north and it made economic sense to ask people
6 who lived in the area and wanted employment to join this
7 wage economy in that it would assist, we think greatly,
8 in the^{stability} of our manpower, as opposed to bringing
9 people in and out on a continuous basis.

10 At the present time this
11 program consists of three producers supporting it --
12 Imperial Oil, Gulf and Shell -- two pipeline companies
13 -- Alberta Gas Trunk Line and TransCanada Pipeline --
14 and the two applicants, Foothills and Canadian Arctic
15 Gas.

16 Currently we have 100 trainees
17 in training and over the course of these five years
18 there have been a little in excess of 200 who have
19 been in training. The numbers don't initially appear
20 to be too significant, but I think what is important
21 is that these are all skilled jobs leading to techni-
22 cian level employment at minimum, and they are all
23 jobs that have been offered to the trainees on a perman-
24 ent basis. In other words, whether a pipeline is built
25 or not, these people have permanent employment in the
26 petroleum industry and in the pipeline industry.

27 People are located in the
28 delta, in Alberta, and in Saskatchewan : in gas plants
29 and in pipeline operations. The trainees come from a
30 wide variety of settlements in the Territories. They

B. Hollands

1 consist of native people and white, I think the white
2 members are much in the minority; I think currently
3 about 15% and about 85% native involvement.

4 The cornerstone of this
5 program is the use of counsellors of which I believe
6 now we have six, five of whom are natives themselves
7 who have been through the training.

8 I'd like to emphasize that
9 the training is for long-term operating jobs. We have
10 a facility, we believe when we get into the construc-
11 tion phase, to assist with that side of the training
12 of northern residents who are interested in it, and we
13 believe the program to be well-structured and capable
14 of rapid expansion as it's required.

15 That's all well and good, but
16 we've heard the question many times, and I think we've
17 heard it in some of the testimony, to the effect that
18 "Who says that northerners want jobs in the wage
19 economy?"

20 We say, "They do."

21 Looking only at our industry,
22 that is the petroleum industry and the proposal to
23 build this pipeline, I think you heard testimony in
24 Calgary from the Petroleum Industry Committee that
25 there were in excess of 750 placements in 1974-75
26 drilling season in 45 job categories, totally 2,350
27 man hours, and that these placements came from 26
28 settlements in the two Territories.

29 Insofar as Canadian Arctic
30 Gas is concerned, its participation in the Nortran

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1 program has indicated that there have been 200 people
2 trained to varying skilled levels, and most of these
3 transferable. There's nothing that commits the trainee
4 to join the pipeline operation or^a drilling operation.
5 As I indicated, there are 100 presently in the program.

6 I think it's significant for
7 northern residents, as well as for us, in the sense
8 of stability of employment that we have on hand 400
9 applications from northern residents who don't just
10 want jobs, they want to join this Nortran program to
11 be trained for operating skilled jobs.

12 It's our basis that this is
13 in our interests as well as theirs. Thank you very
14 much.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
16 sir.

17 (WITNESS ASIDE)

18 MR. ROLAND: Mr. Commissioner,
19 that concludes our morning session. I suggest we
20 adjourn until two o'clock this afternoon.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Waddell?

22 MR. WADDELL: Yes, Mr.
23 Commissioner, there will be a film shown for those
24 who are interested at one o'clock, that's about five
25 minutes from now, in the Sussex Room, which is down
26 the hall, and it's on the Inquiry's work in the north
27 last summer.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
29 we'll adjourn until two o'clock.

30 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)

1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Ladies and
3 gentlemen, we'll call our hearing to order this after-
4 noon. We'll call our hearing to order this afternoon,
5 ladies and gentlemen, and give our full attention to
6 those who are going to be presenting their views to
7 the Inquiry between now and 4:30.

8 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have some
9 points I would like to raise. Some time ago at the
10 formal hearings in Yellowknife -- some time ago at
11 the formal hearings in Yellowknife, sir, you asked for
12 comments or a copy of comments made by Kelly Gibson,
13 Chairman of the Board of Foothills Pipe Lines in connec-
14 tion with the position of Foothills on native land
15 claims, and there are excerpts dealing with that sub-
16 ject in the speech made by Mr. Gibson to the Annual
17 Meeting of the shareholders of Westcoast Transmission
18 Company Limited on April 20, 1976, and I would propose
19 to file that with the Inquiry as an exhibit, sir.

20 (REMARKS BY K. GIBSON OF WESTCOAST TRANSMISSION
21 RE LAND CLAIMS MARKED EXHIBIT 626)

22 The second point, sir, relates
23 to the construction schedule proposed by Foothills
24 Pipe Lines, and as I indicated to you privately in
25 Montreal on Tuesday, it was announced at the National
26 Energy Board, and I am announcing, sir, here, in
27 public, that it is Foothills' conclusion that the work-
28 ing conditions in the extreme northern portions of
29 the proposed pipeline are such that it is impractical
30 to consider building there in the winter season, and

1 Foothills has therefore decided to change to summer
2 construction for the northern-most 50 miles of the
3 northern-most Foothills spread. This will involve the
4 use of gravel access roads and work pads rather than
5 snow roads and snow work pads, and the supporting
6 studies and changes and documentation which are neces-
7 sary will be filed at the earliest possible date.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
9 Mr. Hollingworth.

10 MR. ROLAND: Sir, to begin
11 our afternoon session I should first say that in
12 order to encourage informality, counsel for the two
13 applicants and the participants have agreed that
14 there will be no cross-examination in these southern
15 hearings, and that has been consistently our practice
16 throughout these southern hearings. In place of cross-
17 examination counsel for each of the applicants and
18 each of the participants will be allowed at the con-
19 clusion of this afternoon's session to make a statement
20 not exceeding ten minutes about the submissions that
21 have been heard during this session.

22 I should also add for the
23 people who are here present this afternoon and who
24 weren't here this morning that it is the practice of
25 the Inquiry to have the persons making submissions
26 give their oath or to affirm. The purpose of the oath
27 or affirmation is recognition of the importance of the
28 work in which the Inquiry is engaged.

29 I would now at this time, sir,
30 ask Mr. Waddell to call the first witness.

C. Brabozon

1 MR. WADDELL: The first brief
2 this afternoon, Judge Berger, is from the Civil Liber-
3 ties Association of the National Capital District.
4 I'll call upon them.

6 CHARLES BRABOZON, sworn:

7 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
8 we are grateful to have the opportunity to address
9 this Inquiry and wish to commend you on having helped
10 us realize further the importance of the struggle of
11 the native peoples in Northern Canada and the respon-
12 sibilities this implies for us as Canadians in the
13 south. We appear here as a Civil Liberties Association.
14 We represent a group of citizens in the National Capital
15 Region who are members of our Association. It is our
16 stated position that all people have a right to be
17 consulted about government actions which concern them.
18 Furthermore, it is our declared interest to assist
19 those who feel that their rights and civil liberties
20 have been violated that has brought us here, especially
21 that due process in justice and fair treatment be
22 given to the concerns of the native people of the north.

23 We believe that the native
24 people of the north are presently engaged in a battle
25 for the survival of their way of life, a situation that
26 is not being made any easier by the pressures on them
27 to settle their land claims quickly by trans-national
28 oil companies trying to maintain their timetables for
29 their energy programs. The native people's effort
30 to be heard in the face of very high odds has focused

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1 for us in the south what is really at stake -- control
2 and self-determination of their lives and the lives of
3 all Canadians.

4 The native people in the north
5 are in the process of legally settling their land
6 claims by which their aboriginal rights under English
7 law have traditionally recognized their full ownership
8 of the land, including the right to the use and economic
9 control of the resources on that land. Yet government
10 is presently permitting the gradual interference with
11 this use and control through major development projects
12 in the north without first recognizing and dealing
13 with native peoples' title to the land. It is our firm
14 belief that due process, which is the basis of adminis-
15 tering justice in our country must be respected,
16 upheld and enforced. We cannot accept the mockery of
17 due process such as occurred at James Bay where devel-
18 opments went ahead and were intensified while land
19 claims were before the Court.

20 What we see happening in the
21 north is a clash of two forces, namely the energy
22 industry's strategy to gain access and control of the
23 energy reserves of the north, and the right of the
24 Dene and Inuit to determine and control their own lives.
25 The trans-national oil companies and the government,
26 who act on their behalf, are the dominating force
27 pushing for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline by stressing
28 the need for permitting and meeting energy consumption
29 levels. We seriously doubt the validity and justifica-
30 tion of this argument for several reasons.

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1 1. The large-scale program of resource development
2 in the north is said to be the appropriate vehicle for
3 all northern development, but in fact the project is
4 narrowly defined and conceived. The pipeline is not
5 for meeting the needs of the integral development of
6 the north, either in objective or design. The past
7 performance of industry and government in failing to
8 develop sufficient and appropriate job opportunities
9 which could be integrated with the traditional life-
10 styles of native people will not be changed by resource
11 development projects that are highly complex, and
12 capital rather than labor-intensive. We believe that
13 the social impact of such projects as the Mackenzie
14 Valley Pipeline would seriously disrupt the present
15 opportunities native people have either from traditional
16 pursuits or new work developed in line with their
17 cultural heritage. It has been the traditional activi-
18 ties that carry the cultural values and which ultimately
19 appear to provide a more satisfying livelihood for the
20 native people of the north. Because their values,
21 customs, aspirations and livelihood have developed from
22 a special relationship to the land, they can be rightly
23 skeptical about sacrificing their lands for the promis-
24 ed benefits of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. It is con-
25 trol of their land which will give them the necessary
26 negotiating and bargaining power to determine what type
27 of development will be of real benefit to them.

28 We feel, therefore, that
29 although it is the native people in the north who will
30 be most directly affected, there are reasons for

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1 Canadians in the south also to be concerned with what
2 happens in the north. In view of the energy industry's
3 past performance and present strategy and the demonst-
4 rated willingness of the government to go along,
5 Canadians can be well-advised in being seriously
6 worried about the future of their energy reserves. The
7 recent fluctuations in estimates of conventional energy
8 reserves, the cynical manipulation of statistics for
9 first, vast exports to the U.S., and then pressuring
10 for quick development of Arctic Gas reserves, the
11 coercive tactics such as suspending major exploration
12 programs in the Mackenzie Delta or threatening to
13 abandon Syncrude in order to gain favorable tax status
14 and incentives, the monopoly of information and secre-
15 tiveness which is begged in the name of phony competi-
16 tion, these have undermined the credibility of the
17 foreign-owned energy industry in this country and as
18 such is not deserving of the public trust that they
19 will solve our energy problems. Energy is simply too
20 important for this pattern to continue. Our responsi-
21 bility in the south is to address and hold accountable
22 the governments and the energy industry who control
23 the development of non-renewable resources. When one
24 understands that intrinsic to the corporate structures
25 which control the development of our country's energy
26 resources is the primary objective of profit maximiza-
27 tion for its shareholders, the obsession for increasing
28 growth necessarily places human benefit and need in
29 a secondary position. Consequently, the quality of
30 life encouraged by this pattern of energy consumption

can satisfy only the more and more refined whims of our overly consumptive society and is increasingly divorced from the basic needs of food, shelter, clothing and employment of the marginal and disadvantaged in our country, as well as other areas of the world.

Policies that commit public funds to the sector of private enterprise involved in the profitable resource extraction projects such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline have a profound effect in human terms on those sectors in our society who have incurred the resulting displacements of investments. We have recently seen and experienced controls being placed on wages, cutbacks occurring in social services and education, and increasing unemployment in order to allow vast capital requirements needed to complete the energy projects under way or soon to be under way. Yet we are told that this is just the beginning. Once the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is completed, Canadians can expect pressure from industry for further support of northern energy resource development.

How our energy resources are developed, who develops them, who benefits and who pays the cost -- these are the crucial questions that, depending on the way we take responsibility for answering them, will determine whether or not future generations (our children) inherit the benefits or the burdens of unimaginable magnitude.

Alternatives and options, however, do not just materialize nor can our decision-

1 making power be naively or irresponsibly handed over
2 to the so-called experts. This has been the great
3 myth of our civilization. The question of northern
4 resource development is vital to our future and a
5 hasty decision cannot be made nor should we be coerced
6 by pressures of the international oil companies.
7 We, the Canadians of the south, have to address the
8 concerns expressed by the native people of the north.
9 A sense of justice requires us to back them and their
10 present struggle. If we are to respect the rights of
11 the native people of the north, then we cannot allow
12 the building of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline or any
13 other major resource project before there has been a
14 just settlement of the land claims satisfactory to
15 the native peoples of the Northwest Territories.

16 Canada needs a breathing
17 space before launching any further massive energy
18 development projects in the north. From data already
19 before your Commission, a moratorium can and should be
20 put into effect. There are several reasons why a
21 moratorium is warranted. As Civil Libertarians, we
22 wish to cite three of the major reasons:

- 23 1. It would allow due process of the native land
24 claims to occur without the undue interference of
25 outside economic pressures.
- 26 2. It would also allow Parliament and the Canadian
27 public to engage in the kind of informed discussion
28 and decision-making in reducing energy consumption
29 and seeking and developing alternative sources of
30 renewable energy that would lead to a responsible

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1 and just energy policy.

- 2 3. Finally, considering its effective monopoly of
3 information and the consequent control over the
4 national resources of Canada, the energy industry
5 in its present structure has to be changed so
6 that more effective public control over the energy
7 sector of our economy can occur.

8 Some of our members in the
9 Civil Liberties Association, National Capital Region,
10 are presently involved in presenting arguments and
11 recommendations in regard to proposed legislation cur-
12 rently before Parliament designed to decrease government
13 secretiveness and thereby increase government account-
14 ability to the public. We propose that the same
15 accountability apply to corporations who control such
16 vital areas as our energy reserves. A Public Board of
17 Inquiry truly representing all major sectors of the
18 public and having the legal powers to obtain and use
19 any information the industry holds, would be a first
20 step in bringing about greater accountability in the
21 industry.

22 A good example of the need
23 for such legislation and the need for a Public Board
24 of Inquiry revolves around one of the major actors in
25 the pipeline debate, namely the National Energy Board.
26 As with other regulatory agencies, it has not been
27 subject to the checks and balances which would guarantee
28 its independence from the interests which it is supposed
29 to regulate.

30 Mr. Commissioner, we would hope

C. Brabozon
F.J. Bregha

1 that the time has passed when colonizers representing
2 corporate interests can send in their vanguard of
3 railway men, road-builders, and pipeline construction
4 crews without first settling matters of justice, or
5 waiting until native peoples have been rendered power-
6 less by a fait accompli. As Civil Libertarians we
7 feel that this is our chance, Canada's chance, and
8 perhaps our last opportunity to demonstrate the worth
9 of our legal system, to demonstrate that the Courts are,
10 and can be, independent forums of justice, and that all
11 persons and groups do have rights which are respected
12 and enforced, not simply tolerated until the need is
13 seen by someone else to abrogate them.

14 Thank you.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
16 very much, sir.

17 (SUBMISSION BY CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION -

18 C. BRABOZON- MARKED EXHIBIT C-550)

19 (WITNESS ASIDE)

20 MR. WADDELL: I'd like to
21 call next Francois Bregha, who is speaking for
22 the Canadian Wildlife Federation and the Committee for
23 Justice & Liberty.

24
25 FRANCOIS J. BREGHA, sworn:

26 THE WITNESS: Monsier le juge,
27 je m'appelle Francois Bregha. Je represente la
28 Federation Canadienne de la Faune. J'apparais aussi
29 au nom du groupe local du comité pour la Justice et la
30 Liberté. Je propose de lire une courte déclaration.

F.J. Bregha

1 Je suis prêt a répondre a vos questions.

2 The Canadian Wildlife Federa-
3 tion and the Ottawa Local of the Committee for Justice
4 & Liberty Foundation welcome this opportunity to appear
5 before the Inquiry and present their views on one of
6 the most important resource development projects in
7 this nation's history.

8 The Canadian Wildlife Federa-
9 tion is a national, non-profit organization represent-
10 ing over 230,000 individuals across Canada. It is dedi-
11 cated to promoting respect for our environment and the
12 wise use of our natural resources.

13 In our presentation before
14 this Inquiry, we want to discuss briefly a few of the
15 broader questions raised by the construction of the
16 Mackenzie Pipeline.

17 C.W.F. disagrees with those
18 who state that the Mackenzie Pipeline is essentially
19 a northern problem. It is not. The impulse for its
20 construction as well as the construction of other
21 frontier projects, comes from the south. It is the
22 south's appetite for resources which constitutes the
23 sole raison d'etre for the exploitation of the north
24 on this grandiose scale.

25 In the past, we Southern
26 Canadians have been successful in attenuating the
27 urgency of the problems posed by rising consumption
28 by developing new sources of supply. It is fair to say
29 that we are now reaching the last frontier where new
30 resources will be found and it is therefore time to start

F.J. Bregha

1 looking for solutions to the problems arising from
2 increasing consumption where the problems themselves
3 originate, at the centres of consumption.

4 The pipeline and other
5 frontier projects are thus not fundamentally northern
6 problems. They are southern problems and as such must
7 be analyzed in the context of present southern life-
8 styles and economic and environmental pressures which
9 they generate.

10 We do not propose in this
11 brief to offer a detailed description of the context.
12 Rather, we shall emphasize three particular aspects
13 whose consideration by this Inquiry, we feel, is of
14 fundamental importance.

15 1. Energy supply and demand.

16 In 1975, primary energy con-
17 sumption in Canada was of the order of 7.8 trillion
18 B.T.U.s. This was more than double what Canadians
19 consumed in 1960. In "An Energy Strategy for Canada"
20 the Federal Government declared its commitment to lower
21 the rate of growth in energy demand to 3½% annually,
22 which means that energy consumption will now double
23 in 20 years, rather than 15, as was the case historically.

24 In order to meet forecast
25 demand, the government estimates that the energy sector
26 will require \$180 billion between 1976 and 1990. This
27 projected investment represents an appreciably larger
28 share of the gross national product than has tradition-
29 ally been allocated to the energy sector. As a result
30 we can expect energy investments to displace investments

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in other sectors of the economy, such as housing. Indeed, the average annual increase in energy-related expenditures over the next 15 years will be roughly equivalent to 50% of the total investment in residential construction in 1975.

It is difficult to evaluate the economic impact of such a restructuration of the Canadian economy. It is not unreasonable to expect, however, inflationary pressures to be heightened, interest rates to rise, and small borrowers to be disproportionately affected by the scarcity of available capital.

In order to supply projected demand, the size of the energy industries will double in the next 15 years, which means that the new energy projects such as Arctic pipelines, generate a substantial energy demand in themselves. In other words, the net energy return from these projects, once all the energy inputs have been accounted for, is decreasing over time.

The unprecedented magnitude of the energy investments contemplated over the next decade and a half and their potentially disruptive economic impact invite careful scrutiny of their desirability.

The Geological Survey of Canada has recently down-graded substantially its earlier estimates of Canada's ultimate oil and gas potential. The new estimates place this potential at but one-third of what had been previously thought to exist, and make it clear therefore that fully one-half of Canada's

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oil potential and one-third of the gas potential have already been discovered.

A concrete manifestation of the revised outlook of Canada's hydrocarbon reserves is provided, of course in the case of the Mackenzie Delta where the expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars have yielded between four and seven trillion cubic feet of gas, not enough to justify the construction of a pipeline. The realization that we are fast approaching the economically exploitable limits of our hydrocarbon resources makes a compelling argument in favor of reducing the rate of development of these resources and devoting larger efforts to energy conservation. According to the government's "An Energy Strategy for Canada",

" Energy conservation provides the most immediate method of relieving our energy problems," and "as a nation we are at a point in time when it is less costly to save energy than to produce more of it."

The economic impact of future energy investments, our limited resource base and the attractiveness of energy conservation constitute three independent factors which militate in favor of delaying, if not of foregoing, the construction of a Mackenzie Pipeline.

2. A second aspect of Canada's present energy situation which we wish to bring to your attention is the accelerating trend towards large, centralized energy systems. Centralized energy systems, such as a large diameter

pipeline, tend to concentrate economic and political power. In the words of Amory Lovins:

"Decisions about who will have how much energy at what price also become centralized, a convenience for those at the centre, but politically dangerous because it divides those who use energy, from those in big business and big government who supply and regulate it."

Public participation is also discouraged by the increasingly complex issues raised by large energy projects. These projects are not only sophisticated technologically but their social, economic and environmental impacts often exceed the understanding of any one group of individuals. Decision-makers will too often emphasize these complexities in justifying the lack of effective public participation. The concentration of energy supply into a few extremely large projects must be regarded, therefore, as a development which potentially restricts the rights of individuals to participate in the determination of their own future.

The decision-making process as related to northern projects is discussed at greater length in our appendix.

3. The foreclosure of options.

The standard forecasts presented by both industry and government are premised on the continuation of a steady rate of growth in energy demand over the foreseeable future. The implementation of these forecasts will require a single-minded commitment to the task of developing new energy

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1 sources, a commitment made necessary by the unprecedented
2 scale of the projects contemplated and their enormous
3 cost. The marshalling of the capital, human and
4 technological resources for the big, tough, expensive
5 job of developing petroleum supplies will have to
6 be so total as to preclude the pursuit of alternative
7 policy options.

8 One of the reasons behind
9 the foreclosure of options has to do with the impact
10 which large energy projects may exert on energy demand.
11 In order for the cost of large energy projects to be
12 amortized successfully, these projects will have to
13 be operated at optimum capacity for their economic
14 lifetime.

15 Thus the financial viability
16 of these projects requires that a demand for their
17 product, energy, be guaranteed. Once the tap is turned
18 on, it cannot be turned off. Large energy projects,
19 therefore, if they do not actually stimulate demand,
20 may at least discourage the implementation of vigorous
21 conservation measures.

22 Secondly, the dedication of
23 capital and technology to fulfill the standard fore-
24 cast will not leave sufficient resources to experiment
25 in other directions. A direct trade-off will thus
26 have to be made. Shall we allocate our scarce resources
27 to increasing offshore drilling or to installing
28 solar panels for homes? We shall not be able to do both.

29 The implementation of the
30 standard forecast may lock us into a self-perpetuating

1 pattern of development where growth in energy demand
2 generates yet larger and costlier energy projects
3 which in turn stimulate further rises in demand. The
4 adoption of this pattern of development poses several
5 subatantial risks, among which are economic disruption
6 and the accelerated depletion of non-renewable resources.

7 It is of fundamental importance
8 to understand that the option characterized by the
9 standard forecast and any other option such as the
10 conserver society, are mutually exclusive. This is
11 of course what is meant by the foreclosure of options.
12 According to Amory Lovins:

13 "Delay in conservation will let wasteful use
14 run on so far that the logistical problems
15 of catching up become utterly insuperable.
16 Delay in widely deploying the soft technologies
17 pushes them so far into the future that there
18 is no longer a credible fossil-fuel bridge to
19 them; they must be well under way before the
20 most serious part of the oil and gas decline
21 begins."

22 It is imperative, therefore,
23 that Canadians today have the opportunity to make a
24 conscious choice before the present incrementalist
25 approach locks us irremediably into the first option.

26 The construction of the pro-
27 posed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline raises numerous
28 questions about both the need for and impact of such
29 a project. The former concern is usually discussed
30 in terms of the demand for and supply of natural gas.

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1 Rarely is it put in the broader framework of the
2 total Canadian energy picture; never does it distinguish
3 between economic demand and human need, nor define what
4 "human need" constitutes.

5 In the above section we have
6 tried to outline briefly the context in which we feel
7 the Mackenzie Pipeline must be viewed.

8 A decision on whether or not
9 to build a pipeline cannot be reached meaningfully
10 outside of this context as the pipeline would profound-
11 ly influence the direction of Canadian energy policy.
12 The extent of that influence will, of course, depend
13 on the timing of the pipeline's construction. We
14 respectfully submit, therefore, that this Inquiry
15 consider the question of timing in its report, as in
16 our view it logically forms part of the Inquiry's mandate
17 to recommend terms and conditions which will minimize
18 the pipeline's adverse impact .

19 The problems posed by the
20 construction of a Mackenzie Pipeline are not so much
21 of a technical nature as they are ethical. On one
22 level is the issue of the native people's rights and
23 their land claims. Earlier this year Mr. Maurice Strong,
24 Chairman of PetroCanada, stated in Calgary:

25 "Those who must bear the environmental and
26 social costs of energy development should
27 participate fully in the decisions concerning
28 such development and in the benefits derived
29 from it. To do otherwise would involve
30 exploitation that is incompatible with the basic

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1 concept of equity and justice which provide the
2 moral underpinnings of our society, as well as
3 its effective functioning as a democracy."

4 To impose development in the Mackenzie Valley over the
5 wishes of its residents would violate the very concepts
6 of equity and justice Mr. Strong refers to.

7 On a broader level, we must
8 ask also fundamental questions about the direction of
9 Canadian society. Should our overriding goal continue
10 to be the maximization of economic growth? Or should
11 we conversely start stressing more qualitative goals,
12 such as a cleaner and healthier environment?

13 We recommend that a Mackenzie
14 Valley Pipeline not be built until the following
15 conditions have been met:

- 16 1. Native land claims have been settled to the
17 satisfaction of all parties;
- 18 2. Environmental impact studies regarding all dev-
19 elopments associated with the pipeline (highway,
20 gathering systems, offshore drilling, etc.) have been
21 completed;
- 22 3. A national energy policy stating the goals of
23 such a policy and its role in a national industrial
24 strategy has been drafted and submitted for public
25 discussion;
- 26 4. Alternatives to the construction of a Mackenzie
27 Pipeline, including the renegotiation of gas exports,
28 the construction of a Polar Gas Pipeline, the upgrading
29 of southern gas deliverability, have been thoroughly
30 examined to determine whether the construction of a

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A. Roman

1 Mackenzie Pipeline could be foregone altogether.

2 5. A comprehensive energy conservation program has
3 been launched.

4 Thank you.

5 (SUBMISSION BY CANADIAN WILDLIFE FEDERATION -
6 F.J. BREGHA - MARKED EXHIBIT C-551)

7 (WITNESS ASIDE)

8 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
9 I would ask if any people or organizations that haven't
10 already done so, that is anybody who wishes to make a
11 brief this afternoon and people that are on our list,
12 if they would give me a copy of their brief I would
13 appreciate that.

14 Mr. Commissioner, I'd like
15 to call now the brief from the Canadian Association in
16 support of Native Peoples, No. 19 on this afternoon's
17 list, and it will be given by Mr. Andrew Roman.

18
19 ANDREW ROMAN, sworn:

20 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
21 at the outset I'd like to apologize that Mr. Meagher,
22 our president, was not able to make it today, and to
23 thank the Commission for the opportunity to address
24 them.

25
26 Our Association is a national
27 voluntary citizen's organization that works to promote
28 the public awareness and understanding of native
29 rights and objectives so necessary to the achievement
30 of full and equal native participation in Canadian
society.

A. Roman

1 The Association has a long
2 record of activity on behalf of the rights of the
3 first citizens of Canada. We have formally supported
4 the Dene Declaration, and we would like to file with
5 the Commission at this time our publication,

6 "Why CASNP Supports the Dene Declaration,"
7 as an exhibit.

8 More recently, together with
9 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Indian Brotherhood
10 of the Northwest Territories and the Metis Association
11 of the Northwest Territories and ourselves, we worked
12 together to inform Canadians about the rights, culture
13 and aspirations of the native people of the Northwest
14 Territories. In co-operation with church, labor,
15 environmental and other groups, we held Native Land
16 Settlements Week which was March 7th to 13th, 1976,
17 and which gave the native people from the north the
18 opportunity to discuss with Southern Canadians their
19 land claims and how resource development will affect
20 them.

21 When these people appeared
22 before southern audiences all over Canada, they explain-
23 ed their land settlement proposals and the reasons
24 for their insistence on a significant measure of con-
25 trol over development. On each occasion they won
26 understanding and support from the majority of the
27 non-native people who heard them. I might add that
28 some of these non-native people came with all sorts
29 of hostile misconceptions about native claims, but in
30 many cases after hearing what the native spokesmen had

A. Roman

1 to say, it was clear that they had changed their
2 views. We would like to submit as an exhibit, our
3 Report on Land Settlements Week, this large black
4 volume.

5 Our Association agrees with
6 the position of the Inuit and the Dene peoples of
7 the Northwest Territories that just land settlements
8 that ensure meaningful native participation in
9 decisions about northern development must precede any
10 decision on the building of the Mackenzie Valley
11 Pipeline.

12 The Inquiry has heard many
13 considerations regarding the proposed pipeline, and
14 the questions of energy and economics are predominant
15 ones. Our Association recognizes that these are
16 vital. Nevertheless, we must remind you that unchecked
17 resource extraction prior to land settlements and prior
18 to a comprehensive national energy policy will create
19 all kinds of long-term problems for the sake of what
20 to some may appear to be a short-term solution.

21 We believe that there are
22 three major reasons why land settlements must be dealt
23 with prior to pipeline construction.

24 1. It is impossible to believe that oil and gas
25 companies could make sound business decisions which
26 will affect all of us ultimately as energy users, with-
27 out knowing beforehand the economic and environmental
28 guidelines which are bound to form part of any land
29 settlement.

30 2. Land settlements that ensure native participation

A. Roman

1 in protecting the environment of the north are in the
2 best interests of all Canadians. Those people who for
3 generations have stored up such intimate knowledge of
4 the land have much to offer in protecting the great
5 natural heritage we all share.

6 3. Native participation and development could result
7 in more positive social and economic contributions
8 by native people to their own communities and to
9 Canada.

10 These, then, constitute some
11 of the practical reasons for a land settlement first.

12 On a moral level, we as
13 Canadians of the dominant group have one of the few
14 chances left to deal fairly with the original
15 inhabitants of this country. Let us not miss it. The
16 history of our treatment of native peoples is frankly
17 shabby. If we do not at this time deal honorably with
18 the Dene and the Inuit of the Northwest Territories,
19 we will continue to generate a legacy of grief, of
20 broken cultures, and of humiliating dependency.

21 This need not be the case.
22 There is still time, if we choose to work with the
23 native people of the north to build a partnership in
24 confederation from which we can all benefit.

25 We can begin by listening to
26 the native people who have addressed this Inquiry and
27 acknowledging perhaps for the first time the right of
28 native people to determine their own future within a
29 unified Canada.

30 Thank you.

A. Roman
Manual & Mathisen

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,

Mr. Roman.

(SUBMISSION BY CANADIAN ASSOCIATION IN SUPPORT
OF NATIVE PEOPLES - A. ROMAN - MARKED EXHIBIT
C-552)

(CASNP REPORT RE NATIVE LAND CLAIM SETTLEMENTS
MARKED EXHIBIT C-553)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: The next brief
Mr. Commissioner, is from the National Indian Brother-
hood through its president, Mr. George Manual, and he
has with him a friend, Hans Ragnar Mathisen.

GEORGE MANUAL, resumed:

HANS RAGNAR MATHISEN, sworn:

WITNESS MANUAL: Thank you
very much, Mr. Commissioner, for allowing me again
to make a presentation today on behalf of the National
Indian Brotherhood of Canada. Before I proceed, I would
like to introduce Hans Ragnar Mathisen. He's a Lap-
lander, a Samés person from Northern Norway, and he
is a member of the World Council of Indigenous
People, as I've told you in Yellowknife, which was
formed last October, and he is going to make a very
short statement in relation to the issues that we're
involved with here right after my statement. O.K.,
thank you.

Mr. Commissioner, the National
Indian Brotherhood pointed out in our Yellowknife
presentation that the Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline

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1 Inquiry is a landmark event. It is the first time
2 that news of the Indian people have been considered
3 before a final ruling on a major project is made. As
4 a result, many Indian people look on this Inquiry as
5 our last hope for justice. But while this Inquiry
6 is a major first in Indian-white relations, it is
7 also fraught with danger.

8 We have been following the
9 course of your Inquiry very closely and with very deep
10 concern. Our concern is that the government may have
11 already decided it will proceed with the construction
12 of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and other large-scale
13 projects in other sections of the country without
14 regard to the legitimate rights of the Indian people.

15 Two years ago on September
16 30, 1974, at the time of the so-called riot of Parlia-
17 ment Hill, between a group of Indian demonstrators
18 and the R.C.M.P. riot squad, Judd Buchanan, the Minister
19 of Indian Affairs stated that he would not negotiate
20 while a gun was held to his head.

21 We would like you, Mr.
22 Commissioner, during your Inquiry to remind Mr. Buchanan
23 that the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is a gun held to the
24 Indians' head in the Northwest Territories. Mr.
25 Buchanan himself and his Cabinet colleagues would
26 compel the Indian people of the Northwest and Yukon
27 Territories to sign away their aboriginal birthrights,
28 by liquidating, terminating, and extinguishing the
29 rights to the life and the land of the north.

30 Your Inquiry may be the last

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1 hope we Indian people have to make our voice and
2 positions heard, for we have little trust that the
3 word of the government is entirely honourable.

4 In 1967 and '68 the government
5 set up a consultation meeting with the Indian people
6 and held hearings throughout the country for a full
7 two years in an attempt to discover what were the
8 desires and aspirations of the Indian people in Canada.
9 I myself was the co-chairman of that Inquiry.

10 The minutes of those meetings
11 filled many volumes, yet in June of 1969 the government
12 issued its infamous White Paper on Indian Policy
13 which proposed the exact opposite of what Indian
14 people had told the Inquiry for two years.

15 We hope, Mr. Commissioner,
16 the government is not playing the same devious game
17 with this Inquiry. It is -- if it is, it will develop
18 among Indian people a deep, bitter hostility, and
19 cynicism that may forever be irradicative so long as
20 there remain descendants of the European settlers in
21 this country. There is a very real possibility that
22 the heightened hopes of the Indian people will end with
23 devastating disillusionment, if this latest encounter
24 with the white man's system proves ineffective.
25 The potential for disaster, as you know from the testi-
26 mony you have heard, Mr. Commissioner, is frightening.
27 I am sure that anyone who has followed these hearings
28 has grown numb, and even cynical, listening to
29 threatening statements about militant action if Indian
30 interests are ignored. Some of the presentations you

1 have heard may indeed have been excessively loaded with
2 rhetoric, but the frustrations expressed by our
3 people is not exaggerated; it is real.

4 There truly is a sense of
5 desperation amongst the Indian people, a terrible
6 feeling that all is lost and that there is no hope.
7 I do not want to dwell on the death of Nelson Small
8 Legs, but I do -- but I think his suicide underlines
9 the points I have just made.

10 The main issue in the north
11 today is not the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The main
12 issue is aboriginal rights of the Indian and the Inuit.
13 The main objective of the Indian and Inuit is not
14 settlement by termination or the extinguishment of
15 aboriginal rights. The main objective is the recogni-
16 tion of aboriginal rights and the strengthening and
17 developing of aboriginal rights through negotiations.

18 The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
19 has been likened by some oil companies to a piece of
20 string across a football field. If such an analogy
21 is valid, then it can further be said that aboriginal
22 rights of Indian people are like a football that has
23 been kicked around by the same oil companies and cer-
24 tain politicians.

25 Perhaps we Indians need to
26 pick up the ball and simply go home. Then the al-
27 mighty oil companies would have to shut down the
28 football field and the piece of string would rot away
29 or be blown away by the wind to places unknown.

30 The question of aboriginal

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rights is not only a historical issue. It is a legal issue, a political issue, and a moral issue. It is a historical issue because the Indian people have inhabited these lands for hundreds of years prior to the coming of the European settlers. The early settlers and immigrants recognized the rights of ownership of Indian lands by signing treaties in some places with some of my ancestors. We would like to remind you, Mr. Commissioner, that when the sun did set on the British Empire, the Empire was dismantled in other continents by returning the lands to their original owners. This has not happened in Canada, and we wish it would.

Aboriginal rights is a legal issue because it has been a matter of judgment by the Courts of this land. You have already been reminded and have participated in January of 1973 the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the Nishga people of British Columbia had what is known as aboriginal rights. In September of 1973 in the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories, Justice Morrow ruled that the Indians were the -- and I quote:

"The prima facie owners of the land."

In November of 1973, in the Supreme Court of Quebec, Justice Malouf ruled that the Cree and the Inuit had, and I quote:

"Clear right to the land."

The Malouf decision was set aside a week later by the Quebec Appeals Court on the basis of, and I quote:

"Balance of convenience."

1 which means that the learned Court ruled that the rights
2 of the six million white Quebecois are more important
3 than the rights of the 8,000 Crees and Inuits.

4 Extending that argument to its
5 logical conclusion on a global basis, means for
6 example that the rights of our 840 million Chinese
7 are more important than the rights of the 22 million
8 white Canadians. Since we are always told that we
9 Indians are really descendants of the Asian forebearers,
10 maybe we should now ask for our Asian brothers to come
11 over in hordes to help us get our land back on the
12 basis of "balance of convenience".

13 Aboriginal rights is a
14 political issue and it is in the political arena that
15 the matter will likely be resolved through negotiations.
16 We think, Mr. Commissioner, your Inquiry is a political
17 act. We think it was set up at least in part to
18 appease the growing demand by Indian people for a forum
19 to express our legitimate concerns on the issues of
20 effect of large-scale development on Indian people and
21 Indian lands.

22 Nevertheless, the Inquiry will
23 have a positive value if it will educate the political
24 leaders and the economic desires to the legitimate
25 needs of the Indian people. Aboriginal rights is
26 a moral issue because it strikes at the very roots
27 of the religious foundation of the Christian society
28 that Canada purports to be. As we understand, Chris-
29 tianity is based on the Ten Commandments of God.
30 The 7th and the 10th Commandment state, and I quote:

1 "Thou shalt not steal,"
2 and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods."

3 We seriously wonder whether
4 these Commandments have been amended to read, in 7:

5 "Thou shalt not steal, except in Canada where
6 lands of the aboriginal people can be taken away
7 at will without compensation,"
8 and 10,

9 "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods,
10 except in Canada where the riches of the
11 land of the aboriginal peoples can be taken
12 for sheer profit."

13 We hope that Canadian people
14 will live according to their own Christian laws, which
15 state, and I quote:

16 "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

17 We wish to leave with you,
18 Mr. Commissioner, some evidence that the majority of
19 the white Canadian population do indeed want to do
20 what is right and just for the Indian peoples of Canada.
21 What does white Canada think of the plight of Canada's
22 original people? The reason I ask this question,
23 Mr. Commissioner, is because ultimately you will be
24 taking into account the interests and opinions of all
25 Canadians when making your recommendations.

26 Dr. Roger Gibbins and Dr.
27 Richard Panting of the University of Calgary have
28 kindly given the National Indian Brotherhood a study
29 completed just a few months ago, and entitled:

30 "A Nationwide Study of Public Awareness of an

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Opinion Towards Indian Issues in Canada."

In that survey Canadians were asked to respond to the following statements, and I quote:

"If the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is imposed on the northern natives against their wishes, we can't blame them if they resort to violence."

Mr. Commissioner, 47.6% of the Canadians either agreed strongly, agree moderately, or at least do not disagree with violence being used by northern natives in that situation, and I think you are acquainted with Dr. Gibbins and Dr. Ponting, as I think they made a presentation on May 31st in Montreal.

Frankly, Mr. Commissioner, I was surprised when I saw that figure, for that can be interpreted to mean that close to 48% of Canadians would approve of, or at least condone violence if there is an unjust Mackenzie Pipeline settlement. I am not a man of violence, nor have I ever advocated or condoned the use of violence. But I can understand the social chaos that breeds violence, and what the statistic tells me is that Canadians are beginning to understand that if 53% unemployment rate in the best of seasons, and an average earned income of under \$2,000 a year logically produces anger and unrest in Indian communities. Canadians realize that when 41% of Indian families are on welfare, compared to the national rate of 3.7%, militancy is the invariable result.

Canadians also feel that Canada's

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1 Indian leaders have been extremely responsible in the
2 face of such hardship. In the survey they were asked
3 to respond to the following statement, and I quote:

4 "On the whole, Indian leaders in Canada have
5 demonstrated a lot of restraint in acting on
6 their grievances."

7 Mr. Commissioner, 66.9% expressed either strong or
8 moderate agreement with that statement.

9 In my Yellowknife brief I
10 stated that the just land claim settlements are the
11 only hope Indians have of breaking with the horrors
12 of the past. Indians must acquire political and economic
13 sovereignty over Indian land or forever remain second-
14 class citizens. Since the arrival of the white Euro-
15 peans, land development has primarily benefitted the
16 newcomers to North America. We have no reason to
17 believe that the Mackenzie Pipeline and the exploitation
18 of the resources of the Northwest Territories will
19 take place any differently. We believe (and history
20 proves) that riches of the north will not be developed
21 for the benefit of Indian people, unless just land
22 claims settlements are negotiated.

23 According to the cross-Canada
24 survey by the University of Calgary professors, the
25 majority of Canadians feel we have a point. 63.2%
26 stated in their opinion either all Indian claims are
27 valid, or at least many of the claims are legitimate.
28 Furthermore, 48.1% of the Canadians feel that Indians
29 are claiming the land for the sake of the land, while
30 only 29% of the Canadians feel Indian land claims are

1 made for the sake of money. Money is not the important
2 consideration in INdian land claims. Sovereignty over
3 the land is, as far as the National Indian Brotherhood
4 is concerned.

5 Our position has always been
6 that aboriginal rights are not to be sold or extingui-
7 shed, but to be developed for the benefit of Canada's
8 indigenous people who have lived on the land since
9 time immemorial.

10 I must say, Mr. Commissioner,
11 I found the results of this survey most gratifying. At
12 times when we Indian leaders feel that no one in
13 white society can appreciate the gravity of Indian
14 problems or identify and empathize with Indian grievances,
15 this sampling of Canadian opinion reveals that more
16 Canadians sympathize with Canadian Indians than any of
17 us ever realized. For us this is most gratifying. It
18 would appear that when presented with the facts, the
19 majority of Canadians perceive the justice of our
20 struggle. Canadians are concerned about the welfare
21 of Canada's first citizens. I am'sure you will take
22 into account these opinions of ordinary Canadians when
23 making your recommendations to the Canadian Government
24 on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

25 As I have pointed out before,
26 the negotiations starting the next few years are the
27 most crucial in the settlement of aboriginal rights.
28 For the sake of the Indian people and for all Canadians,
29 I strongly urge the Government of Canada to seize this
30 opportunity to break with the injustices of the past and

1 negotiate with the Indians of the Northwest Territories
2 within the framework of developing aboriginal rights
3 and not extinguishing them. This survey indicates
4 that the Canadian people will back a government concern-
5 ed with justice for the Indian people, and I cannot
6 emphasize it enough that we are not interested in
7 cash settlements. We are not interested in giving
8 up our birthright for a mess of pottage.

9 The future of Canada's
10 original people is intimately dependent on maintaining
11 our rights and controlling the development of our
12 lands. Without these rights we are condemned to
13 repeat the horrors of the past. To permit the
14 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline to be built against the
15 wishes of the Dene, and prior to a just and equitable
16 settlement of this claim would be following such a
17 disastrous course. A just and equitable land settlement
18 will set this country on a path to establish equality
19 and justice. It would be good not only for the Indian
20 people, but for all of Canada.

21 But if Canada cannot or will
22 not live up to its historical legal, political and
23 moral duties to its aboriginal inhabitants, then this
24 country will stand naked before the world. Canada
25 will become renowned for its historical blindness,
26 its legal squalors, its political stupidity, and its
27 moral emptiness. We know now the majority of Canadians
28 people do not want this negative view of Canada to
29 prevail. I wish to thank you again, Mr. Commissioner,
30 for giving me this opportunity to once more express the

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1 opinions of the National Indian Brotherhood in relation
2 to the Mackenzie Pipeline development.

3 Now I'd like to call on my
4 friend, Mr. Hans Ragnar Mathisen.

5 WITNESS MATHISEN: Mr. Commis-
6 sioner, I am very grateful for the opportunity to
7 speak here on behalf of the Samé people. As a matter
8 of fact I was present at the funeral of Nelson Small
9 Legs earlier, and it made me aware of the seriousness
10 and importance of this Inquiry.

11 Violence is not an answer
12 to the problems; it is a reaction against a provocation.
13 The world's eyes are fixed upon Canada now. How will
14 the world's next largest country treat their indigen-
15 ous population?

16 Myself, I come from Northern
17 Norway, and represent the Samé people who live in
18 the northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Soviet
19 Union. This, our area is better known as Lapland. Our
20 land and our Arctic culture are very similar to that
21 of the north here. Therefore we follow with close
22 interest what happens to our brothers and sisters here,
23 because what happens here will influence other parts
24 of the world as well.

25 We have learned that in
26 South American countries like Brazil, Paraguay, Colombia,
27 and also other countries of the world, the indigenous
28 people have had to pay the price of development. They
29 have been shot down by guns or infected with diseases.
30 But another weapon is the language. For example, the

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word "development" has been used as a weapon against any reason for opposition. The question whether it is right or not to take away the resources from one people for the use of other peoples become complicated like this because the dominant society is not willing to accept the simple truth of it.

The question is not whether there should be development or not. The question is rather what kind of progress? There are at least two kinds of development, good and bad.

Like the Samé people, the indigenous people of the north, the Inuit and the Dene people have lived off and used this land for thousands of years, and adapted their life to this kind of land. They have survived very well and they have developed a lifestyle that when they use the land they don't destroy it. They are able to live well off the land, and yet have hope for the future of their children. This is what I will call progress, and a good development. Who is there to say that newcomers and foreigners know better how this land should be developed? This pipeline might bring development to the south, I am not sure. What I know is that people in the southern cities to which this pipeline is meant to go, do have serious problems and they don't seem to be too happy.

Like other people, white Canadians have got one mouth and two ears. I appeal to the politicians of Canada who are to make the decisions in this important Inquiry. Instead of speaking

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G. Maxwell

1 with too many tongues, I hope you would listen more,
2 both to the still small voices of the indigenous people,
3 and also to the still small voice in your own heart.

4 I won't be surprised if those
5 two voices spoke the same. Thank you.

6 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

7 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
8 I'd call next upon the Canadian Catholic Conference,
9 Mr. Grant Maxwell.

10
11 GRANT MAXWELL, sworn:

12 THE WITNESS: Mr. Justice
13 Berger, I am here to speak in a supplementary way to
14 the briefs which were presented this morning by Project
15 North and by Monseigneur Proulx of the Social Action
16 Commission for whom I work as a married layman.

17 I want to bring you as a
18 supplement some good news from the grass roots of
19 Canada that will collaborate what George Manual just
20 reported to us now. Over the last year and a half I
21 have been conducting a conversational type of survey
22 with Canadians in the ten provinces that make up
23 Southern Canada. This was an experimental project
24 which we called Project Feedback, and I set out,
25 because of some frustration with statistical surveys,
26 which never tell us the why of anything, to ask
27 people why they felt the way they did about different
28 aspects of everyday life. I tried, in other words,
29 to add some flesh and spirit to the bare bones of
30 statistical data, and I would just like to share some

G. Maxwell

of those findings with you which are pertinent to the grave question before you.

Mr. Commissioner, here is a sampling of some of the voices that I heard.

. A home-maker and a part-time journalist in New Brunswick says:

"Canada should stop selling land and resources to Americans for the almighty dollar."

. A woman leader of the Native Rights Movement in Nova Scotia:

"I'd like to live in a Canada where you don't have to sacrifice being Indian to be Canadian, or sacrifice being Canadian to be an Indian."

. An editor in Quebec Province:

"Economic imperialism is the root cause of underdevelopment everywhere. I favor more local power and more local control over development projects."

. A student in Ontario:

"I want to see Canadians remain in control of the north, which means controlling outside capital."

. A policy analyst in Ontario:

"Our so-called national dream is a corporation, the C.P.R. We need an alternative dream, a more human dream."

. An Alberta Member of Parliament:

"Our hallmark of so-called success has been the gross national product. If by 1984 we doubled our G.N.P. would be twice as happy?"

G. Maxwell

1 No, we could well be twice as frustrated and
2 twice as alienated."

3 . A native leader in British Columbia told me this:
4 "Whites have to become aware of the values the
5 Indian peoples have always held, such as caring
6 for nature and sharing all goods in common."

7 Those opinions, Mr. Commissio
8 -ner, are rather typical of the concerns I heard ex-
9 pressed by people all across the country. I had short
10 to lengthy conversations with 750 citizens, and local
11 leaders who were broadly representative of the national
12 profile of the Canadian population. More than 2,000
13 of their comments are contained in six instalments
14 which I would like to submit for your perusal.
15 Almost always I was received by fellow Canadians in
16 a friendly and trusting way, once they were assured
17 that what I most wanted to hear is what they themselves
18 felt and thought, and I think you would be interested
19 to hear the six basic open-ended questions that I
20 asked them.

21 I asked first of all about
22 how they felt about the quality of their own everyday
23 life, the meaning of life, the quality of leadership
24 both civil and religious, what they expected in the
25 1980s, and their social hopes. Regarding that, I asked
26 the question which the Prime Minister used to ask
27 periodically, namely,

28 "What kind of society would you like to live in?"

29 It's with regard to that and
30 with your task in mind that I offer this summary of

G. Maxwell

what I heard at the grass roots.

First of all, I find and believe that consumerism is failing. Among the affluent well as as among the deprived, there is a widespread discontent with the quality of daily life. The epidemic of loneliness which cuts across all income and age groups.

Under the materialistic skin of the Canadian earner and spender there is often -- more often than not, I'd say -- a spirit that experiences a deeper hunger. Many, probably most Canadians want something more from life than material affluence. Quality of relationships with oneself, with others, with God, is widely recognized as more important than the quantity of things.

From coast to coast, people at local levels often used the expression, "more human" to describe their personal and societal aspirations. In this I believe that citizens in their hunches are well ahead of the leaders who talk rather vaguely about a new society.

What I heard Canadians saying adds up to a very different national vision than the C.P.R. Canadian citizens do not dream of bigger and better corporate giants on the public welfare roll, not the C.P.R., not Arctic Gas nor any other conglomerate or consortium.

The late Frank Underhill was right. Canadians are seeking some moral equivalent to the C.P.R., or more precisely, an ethical alternative to corporate grants which of their nature exist

1 to make profits first and not to serve people first.

2 I encountered a popular
3 aversion to bigness in almost all its forms, and
4 especially an antipathy to big institutions --big
5 business, big unions, big schools, big government, big
6 religious organizations. Because big institutions
7 are often experienced as impersonal, and sometimes
8 inhuman, Canadians in all walks of life are saying,

9 "Bigger is better is bunk."

10 And that's putting it mildly.

11 There is a corresponding
12 preference for social groupings that are small, local
13 and personal. In effect, Canadians are asking and
14 advising political representatives and spiritual
15 leaders:

16 "Small is good. Local is best. Keep it
17 personal."

18 The perceptions and values
19 of Canadians are shifting. I heard, and I experienced
20 in myself, an inner struggle between the habits of
21 personal individualism and a dawning awareness of
22 social interdependence. A new consciousness and
23 style of living are emerging that are global in outlook
24 and local in action. The underlying aspiration from
25 the Pacific to the Atlantic is for a more human
26 existence.

27 Finally, just a few more f
28 the voices I heard.

29 . A Saskatchewan farmer:

30 "We need structures that have soul."

G. Maxwell

1 . An Alberta pastor:

2 "The growth ethic is behind us. Now we must
3 help people accept a slowdown."

4 . A woman journalist here in Ontario:

5 "I hope for a society where people can be
6 themselves -- less pressured, less fearful,
7 able to relate once again."

8 . A musician in Quebec:

9 "The solution does not lie with governments.
10 We have to learn to live the values of the
11 Gospel -- sharing, giving and forgiving."

12 . A social animator in Nova Scotia:

13 "I predict the so-called backwaters of Canada
14 will turn out to be the salvation of people,
15 not Toronto or Montreal."

16 . A young farmer in Prince Edward Island:

17 "If you get too big, success kills the vision."

18 A neighborhood organizer
19 in Ontario spoke for many in every province when
20 he said, "The fat kids will have to share their ice
21 cream."

22 At this time -- and as now
23 proposed -- the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project
24 is not in accord with the social desires I heard most
25 citizens express across Southern Canada.

26 The aspirations of the native
27 peoples to be masters of their destiny and remain
28 stewards of the land, these aspirations do coincide
29 with and complement the more human hopes of countless
30 white Canadians from Victoria to St. John.

G. Maxwell
G. Harrison

Mr. Commissioner, the test of any society is how it treats its minority groups. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline question is such a crucial test. The evidence of the Feedback project and the other surveys such as those referred to by Mr. Manual is that the majority of Canadians want to pass this test in social justice and responsible stewardship.

Thank you very much.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much, Mr. Maxwell.

(SUBMISSION BY CANADIAN CATHOLIC CONFERENCE -
- G. MAXWELL - MARKED EXHIBIT C-554)

(FEEDBACK PROJECT, CANADIAN CATHOLIC CONFERENCE,
MARKED EXHIBIT C-555)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I'd like to call upon Pollution Probe of Ottawa, D.B. Rattray, to present their brief.

I wonder if I could speak to Ken Opie, if he's here, and Mrs. Dorothy Beech of the National Council of Women?

THE COMMISSIONER: Sir, is Mr. Weick of the Inquiry Appraisal Team here? Excuse me just a moment, sir. Excuse me, Mr. Rattray. Go ahead, please.

GORDON HARRISON, sworn:

THE WITNESS: Mr. Rattray couldn't be here today. My name is Gord Harrison.

G. Harrison

1 Mr. Berger, as a member
2 of Pollution Probe, Ottawa, I would like to address this
3 Inquiry not with a detailed technical statement,
4 but with a general statement that echoes what many
5 have said here today and before in a more detailed
6 fashion.

7 We stand before you at what
8 could well prove to be the most important crossroad
9 in Canadian history. Before us stretches a path
10 which we have long travelled; a path which uses gross
11 national product and material wealth as yardsticks
12 to determine the quality of life; a path which has
13 resulted in the depletion of our natural resources,
14 degradation of our natural environment and economic
15 and social disruptions of national and global concern.
16 Now, however, we find ourselves with a new path
17 open to us, one which demands a more realistic and
18 rational recognition of our resources and constraints,
19 and at the same time one which holds the promise of
20 a preserved and enhanced quality of life and the
21 development of a self-sustaining society. Which road
22 we are to take must be decided.

23 In recent years, Canadians
24 have been subjected to many conflicting reports to the
25 extent of our energy resources. In spite of the
26 inability of those working in the field to agree upon
27 the amount or timing of projected shortfalls, clearly
28 they must eventually occur. It is the recognition of
29 this that has brought about the tremendous investment
30 in the search for new frontier reserves of natural
gas and oil. But this merely postpones the problem,

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1 for our demand for more and more energy, already riv-
2 alling the highest in the world, continues to increase.
3 Whether it is the present generation or our children,
4 clearly our present course of action must one day
5 leave someone without.

6 Nor are the problems associa-
7 ted with this approach confined to the questionable
8 morality of leaving our problems for others to solve.
9 Of more immediate concern is the potential for
10 environmental damage during construction and operation
11 of the pipeline. The proposed route traverses over
12 525 miles of ice-rich permafrost, 166 miles of potential
13 earthquake zone, crosses 48 major streams, and 912
14 minor streams, undertakes five mountain crossings
15 greater than 5,000 feet, will require 43,000 acres for
16 facilities and rights-of-way, and over 5,000 southern
17 workers. Also anticipated are extensive feeder pipe-
18 lines, numerous gas processing plants, and related
19 service industries which will honeycomb the delta area
20 and form an integral part of the development. An impact
21 on the environment is unavoidable. The estimates
22 which have been made are based upon extensive yet
23 clearly insufficient data concerning the land and the
24 life that it supports. Much more study is required before
25 an estimate can be confidently and realistically made
26 of its vulnerability to disruption. Also unknown is
27 the extent to which environmental problems can be
28 avoided through strict guidelines and stringent
29 monitoring procedures. Certainly any and all development
30 in the north should be subject to close scrutiny by an

G. Harrison

1 independent body with powers to halt or redirect
2 development. It nevertheless remains unknown how
3 effective such a body will ultimately be.

4 Nor is the concern for the
5 environment limited to the concern for the flora and
6 fauna, for man also has his place and plays an impor-
7 tant role in the natural system.

8 We as environmentalists
9 support the native peoples' desire and right to settle
10 the land claims in a just fashion before any work is
11 done on the pipeline. They, as the people who have
12 lived there for countless generations, have lived with
13 the land, its flora and fauna, as brothers and sisters
14 know better the delicate nature of the environment.
15 We as common people, environmentalists and oil companies'
16 researchers, lack this vast backlog of knowledge.

17 Secondly, they are the
18 original inhabitants, long before we arrived on the
19 scene, have a human right to control their land, to
20 have the voice in determining the land's use and their
21 own way of life. We respect this human right and support
22 their desire for settlement of land claims before
23 building a pipeline. To date, our white society has
24 deeply eroded the cultures of the native peoples.
25 Perhaps it is too late. But if it isn't, then we must
26 allow them to develop as they see fit. We don't need
27 a monoculture, but rather a Canada rich in the color of
28 many different peoples. The greater our diversity, the
29 stronger we stand. I think there is little doubt a
30 pipeline would severely disrupt the native lifestyle.

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1 We will suffer if we snuff out the northern cultures,
2 we will suffer in a general weakening of the fabric
3 of Canadian life.

4 Nor is the social impact of
5 the proposed project restricted to those peoples
6 whose homes and livelihoods are directly affected by
7 the proposed development, for we in the south must
8 also bear our share of the burden. Financing of the
9 project will directly affect the economy to which we
10 in the south are so fond. The over \$3 billion which
11 must be raised in Canada will represent funds not
12 available for other services and projects. With
13 cutbacks in social services reaching critical levels,
14 the staggering investment required for this project
15 is highly questionable.

16 So we find ourselves at
17 a crossroads. To construct the Mackenzie Valley
18 Pipeline is to continue in the increasingly difficult
19 task of satisfying our appetite for energy and to
20 gamble the land and its people, not to solve our energy
21 crisis, but merely to postpone it for a few more years.

22 But we need not continue
23 along this path. There are other options available to
24 us. Central to any discussion of environmentally
25 appropriate energy options, is the concept of control
26 of demand. Science Council of Canada Report No. 23
27 states:

28 "On the whole, the trend over the past few
29 decades has been in the direction of extra-
30 vagant energy use. Heavy automobiles, non-

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returnable containers and a host of gadgets all have tended to use more energy. This trend must be reversed through government stimulation of research and development in the private sector into quality of life, energy-conserving technology."

The energy crisis will be met by using carefully what scarce non-renewable resources we have left and the conversion to environmentally appropriate energy sources.

Figures show that the estimated ultimate fuel efficiency for oil in central heating is 51%, and heating accounts for between 35 and 40% of energy utilization in Canada. Clearly we must account for and remedy this kind of wastage before we tamper with another people in a delicate environment.

Impetus must be given to making existing housing more energy-wise and new housing energy-efficient. A Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada Report shows insulation will reduce fuel consumption in the average home by 50%, yet costing approximately \$1,000 to install.

In our mobile society that has relied heavily on the private automobile we must look to more efficient means of mass transit. Transportation accounts for 30 to 35% of our current energy utilization. On a fuel consumption per passenger basis a commuter train is six times more efficient than the automobile.

These are only a few examples

G. Harrison

1 of areas of waste that if attended to may alleviate
2 our need for Mackenzie Valley Pipelines.

3 Hydro Quebec is now erecting
4 a wind generator on the Isle Magdalene which will
5 power 600 homes. The Hooper Hix house in Toronto obtains
6 all its heat energy directly from the sun. Alternatives
7 do exist. Before we jeopardize the northern environ-
8 ment and its people we must examine and explore to the
9 fullest the means of reducing waste and harnessing
10 renewable resources.

11 Mr. Berger, Pollution Probe,
12 Ottawa, adds its name to the growing list of groups
13 and individuals calling for an end to the waste, the
14 gluttony, and the greed which has characterized our
15 society. We add our voice to those who decry the sense-
16 less decisions to gamble our northern lands and the life
17 they support in the pursuit of a brief respite from
18 the reality of our diminishing resources. We
19 recommend the initiation of a moratorium on the
20 development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline until
21 such time as an intensive program of energy conservation
22 and development of an environmentally appropriate
23 energy system has been initiated and explored fully,
24 and until such time as a just and fair settlement of
25 native land claims has been concluded. It is our
26 hope that in this way we may now take the first step
27 on a new path which will lead us to a society that is
28 secure in the knowledge that it has assured itself a
29 permanent supply of energy and a healthy environment.

30 Thank you.

(SUBMISSION BY POLLUTION PROBE, OTTAWA -
G. HARRISON - MARKED EXHIBIT C-556)

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
I'd like to find out if there's a representative here
from the National Council of Women; whether there is
a representative from the Canadian Council on Social
Development?

Mr. Commissioner, I think
this would be an appropriate time to take a short
coffee break.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, before
we do, I would -- I think it might be appropriate if
I offered some comments on a theme that has recurred
in many of the briefs today.

I ask you to bear in mind
-- I think you ought to bear in mind that this Inquiry
was established by the Government of Canada and the
order-in-council establishing the Inquiry, which said
that we were to examine the social, environmental and
economic impact of the construction of a gas pipeline
in our Northern Territories was passed by the Cabinet.
That order-in-council confers a mandate on this Inquiry
that is unprecedented in the Canadian experience, and
very likely in the experience of any other country
that you or I could name. That was done by the
Government of Canada.

The Government of Canada
has provided funds to this Inquiry to enable it to
do its job and on the recommendation of the Inquiry,

1 funds have been provided to native organizations,
2 environmental groups, northern municipalities and
3 northern business to enable all of them to participate
4 in the hearings that have been going on now for 15
5 months, on a footing of equality with the pipeline
6 companies so far as that is possible.

7 The Government of Canada
8 has also co-operated fully with the Inquiry in provid-
9 ing studies and reports of which there are hundreds
10 in the possession of departments and agencies of the
11 Government of Canada, and the government gave this
12 Inquiry the power to issue subpoenas under the law
13 to get the evidence it needed.

14 I think that in examining the
15 -- in drawing your own conclusions, as you are entitled
16 to do, about the reasons why the government established
17 this Inquiry you should bear those facts (and they are
18 facts) in mind, because it seems to me that if this
19 Inquiry is unique, it is to a very great extent because
20 the Government of Canada conferred unique powers upon
21 it. It was suggested by Dr. Pimlott, speaking for
22 Canadian Arctic Resources Committee this morning that
23 the Minister of Indian Affairs & Northern Development
24 wears three hats. His department is responsible for
25 the affairs of the native people of our country,
26 responsible for northern development, and responsible
27 for the northern environment.

28 Well, the Minister has,
29 whenever it has been necessary, taken the requests of
30 the Inquiry made on its own behalf and made the

1 requests of the Inquiry for funding of the Inquiry
2 and for funding for the native organizations, the
3 environmental groups, northern municipalities and
4 northern business, the Minister has taken those requests
5 to Treasury Board, and has used his good offices to
6 ensure that this Inquiry has been adequately funded
7 and to ensure that the organizations that have
8 participated from the beginning of the hearings,
9 the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories,
10 the Metis and Non-Status Indian Brotherhood of the
11 Northwest Territories, the Committee for Original
12 Peoples Entitlement, the Council for Yukon Indians,
13 the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, the Northwest
14 Territories Association of Municipalities, and the
15 Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce, to see that
16 funding has been provided to all of those organizations.

17 The Minister's department may
18 be one which is responsible for a wide range of
19 interests, but the Minister has used his good offices
20 to see that that wide range of interests has been
21 provided with funds to enable those who represent those
22 interests to be properly funded and to participate in
23 the work of this Inquiry.

24 So I'm simply suggesting that
25 that should be borne in mind and it's an important
26 departure in the conduct of Inquiries of this nature
27 in Canada.

28 Well, we'll adjourn for ten
29 minutes for coffee.

30 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR TEN MINUTES)

B. Edmonds

ROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: We'll call our hearing to order and consider in the time left to us this afternoon, those who wish to make representations now.

MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner, I'd call next upon the Labrador Region, the Inuit Association, Bill Edmonds.

(ABE OKPIK RESUMED AS INTERPRETER)

BILL EDMONDS, sworn;

THE INTERPRETER: My name is Bill Edmonds and I am from Labrador. I am the president of the Inuit Association over there.

First of all I want to thank you for allowing me to be here and sit down and speak to you. I am not going to speak very long, but I do want to speak about the few things that we have in our minds.

I am happy to be here from Labrador and I want to say a few things about the development that has come into our country without having a hearing, but I am happy to be here to give you -- and your job is to be recommended for having to listen to all the major developments in other parts of Canada.

I am speaking for all the Inuit people in Labrador and there are not very many left, but they have tried to change our ways and our living for many years, but as a Canadian and I am an Inuk from that place and they have voted me to come

B. Edmonds

1 and speak to you from Labrador.

2 I always wanted to speak
3 about the time when I was going to school. I started
4 as a young kid and they have been trying to change us
5 and tried to make us leave our culture. Now that
6 our children are being imposed upon to learn other
7 cultures, they are not concerned about our ways and
8 our ancestors ways, because they have tried to influence
9 us with another way of learning.

10 We support the land claims
11 by the native people who will be affected by the
12 building of the pipeline in the western area. I
13 want to say that we support them 100% because we
14 are concerned, because they have no hearing in that
15 area and they have never listened any one of us
16 speaking.

17 We are having some development
18 in our area too. There's mining and there's other,
19 power dams and drilling of oil out of our area.
20 We want to be helped by the people who are concerned
21 and who will be affected mostly by the pipeline. We
22 want their help, at the same time, we will support
23 them, and we need their support also.

24 We would also support them and
25 will want them to support us even if they want to do
26 the development. They should have their land claims
27 settled first before any development come because we
28 are in Labrador and we are planning on the same thing,
29 and we want the same kind of treatment as they will
30 be getting if there is any settlement of the land claims.

B. Edmonds

1 The Labrador Government has
2 not looked after us well and we have been depressed
3 and we have not had any real consultation with them
4 about the land claims because they don't listen to
5 us. They don't want to care about us, and we want to
6 know if there is other ways that we could probably
7 get heard to do what is happening in our land.

8 The mining companies go in
9 there and they developed our areas. We have noticed
10 for a long time now that the animals are not abundant
11 like any more and they have been sort of driven away.
12 and we are losing our way of living. We are concerned,
13 and we want to know how can we get help from other
14 parts of this country, so that we too can be heard with
15 our problems?

16 I am glad to be here and I
17 want to thank you all for listening here and especially
18 Mr. Berger. We will have our meetings all the time
19 and we want to be part of the movement of the native
20 people in this country of ours, and we want to be
21 helped and we will help them as much as we can. If
22 they can give us some idea how close we can get together,
23 we would be happy to have them and welcome them.

24 We have had meetings in our
25 Labrador Association and we talk about the development
26 of the pipeline in the Mackenzie Delta area up the
27 Mackenzie River, and we want to support this land claims
28 sincerely with hopes that some day we might come into
29 the same feeling. Having the land claims first
30 before development is one of our aims and we hope that

B. Edmonds
Chief K. Opie

1 they will be heard if there is going to be any
2 development.

3 I want to thank you all for
4 allowing me to speak here and I want to thank you all
5 for listening. Thank you very much.

6 (WITNESS ASIDE)

7 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
8 I want to underline that that was the Labrador Region,
9 Inuit Association and tomorrow you'll hear from the
10 Baffin Region and the translation from the eastern
11 Arctic Eskimo was by Mr. Abe Okpik.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: I thought
13 I recognized him.

14 MR. WADDELL: He's hard to
15 miss.

16 I would call as the next
17 brief Mr. Ken Opie. Mr. Opie? While Mr. Opie's making
18 his way up here, is Chief Andrew Ricord here from
19 the Grand Council Treaty #9?

20 CHIEF KEN OPIE, sworn:

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Commissioner
22 Berger, ladies and gentlemen. I come here as a private
23 citizen concerned about what's happening in our north,
24 concerned about the native people, and concerned about
25 Canadians in general.

26 This isn't a very professional
27 brief but I make my living as a letter carrier, and I
28 am not representing any group or organization, but I
29 am here as a worker.

30 For too long, the native

Chief K. Opie

1 people of Canada have been denied the right to
2 expect a decent standard of living. Compared to other
3 groups in our society, a larger percentage are in
4 jails, alcoholics and they are on welfare; all signs
5 of an oppressed minority. That there is discrimination
6 in Canada cannot be denied.

7 At the present time, I see
8 a new type of leadership emerging among the native
9 people, a leadership not asking for change but
10 demanding change; demanding the right to control
11 their own destiny and I believe that they have every
12 right to do this and I hope the Canadian people will
13 back them up.

14 I have seen criticism of
15 these leaders. I just recently read in the Toronto
16 paper -- we don't get much news about this Commission
17 in the Ottawa paper I am sorry to say -- that the
18 advisors that the Indian leaders had got were leading
19 them down the garden path. You know, I expected to
20 see Cuban troops in my post office when I went to
21 work the next morning. I just can't get over it.
22 You know, I have the same problem. I've been accused
23 of choosing the wrong leaders, as if the native people,
24 it's telling them that "you really can't choose your
25 own leaders" but they must choose their own leaders
26 because leaders -- they must choose their own advisors
27 because certainly the advisors they had before haven't
28 helped them too much.

29 I've read about conspiracies
30 you know, and it just makes me incredulous. I am

Chief K. Opie

1 incredulous. It could be a conspiracy but what worries
2 me more is the conspiracy -- the silent conspiracy
3 that gave us Grassy Narrows. They had to bring
4 Japanese doctors over here to tell them that they had
5 Minamata disease. You know, this was absolutely
6 appalling.

7 I'm going to take a little
8 dig at the press here. In our last postal strike,
9 there was many, many editorials and they were all
10 against the workers except for one, I believe in the
11 "Citizen". No, it was in the "Journal" and one
12 television interviewer implied that the press was
13 being manipulated. I only hope that the press
14 will, if when the Indian leaders as they become more
15 militant and I don't mean by "militant", violent but
16 demanding their rights, that the press will dig a
17 little deeper than they have been doing. They've
18 been treating it as a motherhood issue.

19 I'd like to say some of the
20 native peoples have been comparing themselves to the
21 people of the Third World and I have to believe that they
22 are treated like people of the Third World. They're
23 pushed off their land to make way for progress; poor
24 nutrition, poor education; trying to live in a society
25 that does not accept them and not being a part of the
26 society. I'd like to say that what is happening in
27 the Mackenzie Valley is not an isolated Canadian
28 phenomena but has happened and is happening throughout
29 the world; China, Cuba, Viet Nam, Angola, Rhodesia, etc.
30 People that are demanding a share of their own resources,

Chief K. Opie

1 developing their area of the world in their own way,
2 and I certainly think that that is the way it should
3 be.

4 In Vancouver right now,
5 there is a very important U.N. Conference on Human
6 Settlements going on at the present time. It is
7 getting a great amount of media coverage, but it seems
8 to me that this ties in directly with this Inquiry.
9 You know, land settlements have been stated there,
10 the use of land; but I haven't seen anybody tying
11 these things together. You know, it's important to
12 the native people that these things be tied together.

13 I read the Dene Declaration,
14 and I believe it's a declaration which defines their
15 rights to the land of the Mackenzie Valley. I'd
16 just like to say in closing that as a majority in the
17 land in dispute, the Dene must have a fair land settle-
18 ment before the land is developed, or they will lose
19 their majority and any hope they have of controlling
20 their own destiny will be gone. Have we the right to
21 go into the north, take out the resources and when
22 we have finished return south? Is it not the right
23 of the people who live there to say "no" to the
24 developers.

25 If there is not a fair land
26 settlement, the future of the Dene people is in
27 jeopardy. If a person loses his culture, he loses
28 everything. The Dene people have traditionally shared
29 the land and its resources. Perhaps if we looked at
30 them, we could see a form of leadership based on

Chief K. Opie
Seaborn & Van Den Heuvel

1 sharing, not power and riches. Can we allow a
2 people to die? There is an answer. Will we as
3 Canadians give the right answer?

4 Thank you.

5 (WITNESS ASIDE)

6 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
7 the next brief is from the Y.W.C.A. Cross-Cultural
8 Study Group here in Ottawa. Giving the brief will be
9 David Seaborn, S-e-a-b-o-r-n and Suzanna Van Den Heuvel,

10 DAVID SEABORN,
11 SUZANNA VAN DEN HEUVEL, sworn

12 WITNESS SEABORN: Mr. Berger,
13 ladies and gentlemen, the group presenting this brief
14 grew out of an involvement in a six-week study program
15 run by the Ottawa YM-YWCA in the fall of 1975. At that
16 time, approximately 15 individuals of varying ages,
17 backgrounds and from different parts of Canada took
18 part in a cross-cultural study of native peoples in
19 Canada. Through films, roleplays, reading and discussion,
20 we attempted to explore some of the prevalent attitudes
21 including our own, towards native peoples and some
22 of the issues currently in the press such as mercury
23 poisoning at Grassy Narrows. At the end of the program,
24 a number of us wished to continue to be involved in
25 these current issues.

26 When the native people of the
27 Northwest Territories decided to have a national Land
28 Claims Week in March, 1976 to help inform southern
29 Canadians about how they felt about their land, their
30 life and the future of their people in the Northwest

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1 Territoires, we felt we wanted to become involved in
2 learning more about the issues surrounding the native
3 land claims in northern Canada, and helping others
4 learn more about them.

5 We became involved in the or-
6 ganization and activities of the Land Claims week and
7 gained some support for these activities from the
8 board of directors of the Ottawa Y. At their February
9 26th meeting, the board approved the following statement
10 of support for:

11 (a) The efforts of the native peoples of Canada
12 to achieve a fair settlement of their land claims.

13 (b) Efforts to settle land claims prior to any planned
14 exploration resource utilization or development being
15 undertaken.

16 (c) The efforts of southern Canadians to become better
17 informed of the issues of northern development with
18 specific reference to native peoples and to participate
19 in activities such as the Native Land Claims Week and
20 the Berger Commission hearings which will help
21 present the position of the native peoples to the
22 public and to the government.

23 During the course of our
24 involvement, friends have become interested and the
25 present group has expanded to include those not in the
26 original study group. This introduction is to make it
27 clear that we have no special expertise or knowledge
28 of the north. We should also make clear that to date
29 the involvement of the board of the Ottawa Y has been
30 limited to the statement quoted and therefore to

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1 supporting study and involvement of groups such as
2 ours. The views which we express here do not
3 necessarily represent those of the Ottawa YM-YWCA.
4 What we present here are our ^{own} strong feelings about
5 what we have come to believe is the direction of north-
6 ern development which is in our own best interest.
7 We have reached this position as a result of studying
8 issues related to the potential impact of a gas
9 pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley.

10 After looking at the issue
11 carefully, we feel strongly that there should be
12 no pipeline until the land claims of the Dene people
13 in the Mackenzie Valley have been justly settled.
14 We have a number of reasons for believing that such a
15 position is the most just and in the long-run the most
16 beneficial to building the kind of society we wish for
17 Canada.

18 The following statement by
19 one member of our group, outlining how she personally
20 became involved in understanding the injustices in
21 Canadian native-white relationships illustrates in depth
22 our feeling for the issues.

WITNESS VAN DEN HEUVEL:

24 "I find it a bit difficult to find the right
25 words to express what was a very strong emotional
26 experience, but the change in my perception towards
27 the native peoples of this country came about
28 through my response to a carving of the Haida
29 creation myth by the Haida artist Bill Reid. My
30 reaction was a spiritual experience which, over the

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1 last two years has drastically changed my opinion
2 of our dominant white society and our government's
3 relationship with the native peoples.

4 Up to the time of this involve-
5 ment, I believed myself to have the proper right
6 liberal attitude towards the problem of discrimina-
7 tion. I believed I was prejudiced towards no
8 race or nationality. But from my involvement with
9 the art of the Haida peoples of British Columbia,
10 I realized how ignorant I was about these people
11 and the native peoples of Canada in general. I
12 was ashamed of this and realized that my indiffer-
13 ence and ignorance had been as ugly as the apparent
14 and open racism shown by some of the visitors
15 to Bill Reid's 25th year retrospective exhibition
16 at the Vancouver Art Gallery in November 1974. I
17 overheard a few of these visitors comment to the
18 effect that they were surprised at seeing 'an
19 Indian having as much ability as a white man'.

20 My present awareness of the
21 whole history of the relationship between this
22 country's early colonizers and their descendants
23 and the original inhabitants of this land makes me
24 sick and sad. I am sad at the hatred and fear
25 that people have shown of each other. I am sad
26 at the waste and destruction of human lives and
27 the murdering of cultures that have much to offer us,
28 for its beauty can help us to understand the spirit
29 of a peoples that have survived for centuries in a
30 harsh and difficult world. The people in the

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1 Northwest Territories still have that spirit and
2 have shown it to us in the Dene Declaration. I
3 believe that, as the original inhabitants of this
4 land, it is more than a statement of their right
5 to self-determination. It is their survival as a
6 people, as a unique cultural entity that is such a
7 lesson to the people here in the south.

8 I know that later in the brief
9 we will speak about the economics, the legalities,
10 the technicalities, all the intellectual and
11 abstract factors surrounding the settlement of
12 this question but I would just like to dwell a
13 bit on the culture, the art, the music -- all
14 that shows us the spirit of a people who have
15 loved this land for a time far beyond a mere 300
16 years of colonization. This spirit has to survive,
17 and it only can survive if the native people have
18 their own nations within the Dominion of Canada.
19 This declaration is for all the native peoples of
20 Canada for their continuance, for their identity."

21 Thus, we value the native
22 culture and we would like to see a society in Canada in
23 which the contribution of minority groups can continue
24 to enrich our society so that we may develop a way of
25 living that builds on the strength of many cultures.
26 This will not happen if groups are permanently disrupted
27 or destroyed by large-scale developments. Therefore,
28 we feel that in a democratic country, the people most
29 directly affected by large-scale development projects
30 should have a say in how and when these proceed.

1 In order to enable this process
2 to operate in the Mackenzie Valley, we believe that
3 the Dene must own the land over which they have
4 aboriginal title. This is essential since ownership
5 will give the occupants of the land who have learned
6 over centuries to live in ecological balance with
7 the land, some bargaining power over the type and
8 speed of development. This will necessitate the further
9 development of the political system in the north so
10 that as well as owning the land, the native people will
11 have effective control of decisions affecting it.
12 This, we feel, would be an important development since
13 we find the present kind of colonial relationship which
14 the Federal Government has with the Canadian north is
15 detrimental to the development of Canada as a 20th
16 century democracy. The land claims, if settled
17 justly, will give the Dene more control over areas
18 essential to their survival such as the resource base,
19 political processes, and educational institutions.

20 Increasing the Dene's ability
21 to control their own future through a settlement which
22 gives them ownership of the land, will enable them to
23 search for and develop new patterns of economic activity.
24 They will be able to protect those who wish to live
25 permanently off the land. For those who wish to
26 integrate the wage economy with hunting and trapping,
27 they can experiment with new types of economic
28 activity which incorporate the two. They can work
29 on ways of developing renewable resources; that is,
30 lumber, animals etc. to provide a means of permanent

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1 employment. We are aware of the social destruction
2 and dislocation of boom and bust economic activities
3 and the fragility of the ecosystem in the north and
4 feel that the Dene with their own understanding of
5 the land and the people are in a position to be able
6 to help control these problems.

7 One of the main counter-
8 arguments to this position which we hear in the south
9 is that if native people have more control of the
10 resources in the north, it will mean less development
11 and a lower standard of living in the south. We are
12 told that we will run out of energy and that we may
13 have to live in colder houses with less light. We do
14 not accept this as a necessary alternative. There are
15 many possible options to consider but the Canadian
16 people must take time to explore them. Therefore,
17 we recommend a moratorium on large scale development
18 activities in the north, including a gas pipeline along
19 the Mackenzie Valley for ten to fifteen years.

20 We feel that moratorium would
21 have some other advantages. It would allow time to
22 study the possibility of no pipeline in the Mackenzie
23 Valley at all. What other energy transportation
24 technology might develop in the next ten years? Should
25 the government be looking at the exploitation of resources
26 in the whole of the north as a single rational planning
27 unit? We understand that increasingly there are
28 reserve finds in the high Arctic. Might the country
29 embark on a costly pipeline down the Mackenzie only to
30 discover that it has to repeat the exercise down the

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1 west coast of Hudson Bay? A moratorium would give us
2 time to gain better knowledge of northern resources
3 with which to plan more soundly for the future.

4 A moratorium would allow time
5 to study the impact of northern development on
6 Canada; north and south, and especially the environ-
7 mental impacts of large scale activities. Our feeling
8 is that not enough is known to risk the future of
9 our northlands at this time.

10 Although the masses of
11 technical data about the northern pipelines are just
12 too complex to be completely understood by the layman,
13 there can be no doubt that sufficient environmental
14 safeguards simply do not exist. For all the assuring
15 words spoken by the oil companies, there is no guarantee
16 that large sections of the physical environment will
17 not be irreparably damaged, both at the well-heads and
18 along the pipeline route.

19 Prime Minister Trudeau, in
20 a speech made in 1970 recognized the permanent damage
21 which would be done by an oil spill.

22 "Oil would spread immediately beneath ice many
23 feet thick; it would congeal and block the breathing
24 holes of .. mammals... It would destroy effectively
25 the primary source of food for Eskimos and carnivor-
26 ous wildlife throughout the area of thousands of
27 square miles; it would foul and destroy the only
28 nesting areas of several species of wild birds.
29 Because of the minute rate of hydrocarbon decom-
30 position in frigid areas, the presence of any such

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oil must be regarded as permanent."

The hostile environment of the north makes it one of the most hazardous areas in the world for drilling and should a blowout occur, this same environment will cause extreme difficulty in capping the blowout and drilling relief wells.

Even if wellhead risks were eliminated, the potential dangers of the pipeline itself still exist. Canadian Arctic Gas Pipelines for example having decided against an elevated pipeline, has not yet resolved the problems presented by a buried pipeline. In order to prevent damage to the permafrost through which a buried pipeline would pass, it was proposed that the gas be chilled to below 0 degrees C. This, however, produces a temperature change in the surface soil. This change freezes the soil moisture and this in turn causes the soil to expand and heave, and along with the soil, the pipeline. The danger is self-evident, and yet no design modifications to the buried chilled mode have been made. In addition, the testing done by Canadian Arctic Gas Pipelines on buried pipelines is incomplete:

"The largest test facility at Sans Sault ... (has soil) representative of only a tiny portion of the types that will be traversed in the route. Therefore, they could not test the problem of differential heave, the most difficult heave to predict, which occurs at the interface of different soils. Such soil type transitions are common in the field."

These examples, and they are but

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1 a few of the many, clearly indicate that insufficient
2 environmental investigation has been done to justify
3 large scale development in the north, including the
4 construction of a pipeline through the Mackenzie
5 Valley.

6 WITNESS SEABORN: We recognize
7 that a moratorium might initially force us as southern
8 Canadians into a lower material standard of living.
9 We do not see this as a negative but as a positive
10 and necessary if we are to search for alternatives to
11 our current living patterns that will enable us to
12 respond creatively to our position in a world of
13 finite resources and extremes of wealth and poverty.
14 Thus, we would favor a variety of activities related
15 to looking for alternatives.

16 If we are to reduce our
17 present dependence upon fossil fuels, a start must be
18 made immediately on developing alternative energy
19 sources on a large scale. A great many possible alter-
20 natives have been investigated in recent years which we
21 feel should now be pursued further. For example:
22 1. Wind and solar power should be developed on a wide
23 scale as an energy supplement for electricity generating
24 systems which are currently burning oil.
25 2. Synthetic oil; manufactured from industrial wastes
26 should be produced and marketed to the point where it
27 reduces the demand for natural oil.
28 3. Solar fuel cells such as those used in the space
29 industry should be modified to enable their wide-spread
30 use in buildings at a reasonable cost.

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1 4. Pyrolysis, a recently developed process which
2 converts the plastic content of garbage into fuel, has
3 now been used in Vancouver, Detroit, and Los Angeles
4 but should now be developed on an even wider scale.

5 Government policy however
6 must change if alternative energy sources are to be
7 developed. Costs for further research into and develop-
8 ment of the suggested alternatives are still high and
9 it is necessary to provide financial assistance for
10 large scale development of these new sources, whether
11 that assistance be in the form of tax incentives, grants,
12 or other economic policies. Government must not
13 procrastinate. We cannot afford to wait for a true
14 energy crisis to strike before we start thinking about
15 new energy sources. The proposed ten year moratorium
16 on northern development would provide sufficient time
17 for research and at least initial development of alter-
18 natives. Funding now being invested in nuclear power
19 might be far better spent on the alternatives suggested
20 above, as proper safeguards in this field do not exist
21 and from all available evidence, never will exist.

22 Government policy must also
23 change in a second way. The psychology of consumption
24 and unlimited growth on which our society functions,
25 leads inevitably to a state of energy shortage. This
26 mentality must be replaced by a psychology of restraint
27 if we expect to continue inhabiting this planet. World-
28 wide research suggests that restraints are essential
29 if global resources shortages are to be resolved with-
30 out massive social upheavals. It is the government's

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1 responsibility to help promote a new ethic of conserva-
2 tion. Massive disruption of the north in order to
3 provide fuel for the south is hardly the way to
4 encourage restraints and conservation.

5 All of this is to ask for a
6 radical change in values. It is ultimately a plea
7 for a simpler, more spiritually oriented life. It
8 would be simplistic to say that people of past eras
9 or other less industrialized cultures such as the north
10 have been or are supremely happy for not having the use
11 and comfort of massive energy resources. But there can
12 be little doubt that the complications of modern
13 Canadian society are not conducive to mental and
14 spiritual well-being. If decreasing dependence upon
15 fossil fuels and an official policy of constraint lead
16 to a lower material standard of living and eventually
17 to a simpler life, it would perhaps be the best thing
18 that could happen to this country. To continue at
19 our present rate of production and consumption could
20 be disastrous.

21 A moratorium on development
22 in the north will allow time for Canadians to carefully
23 assess their current lifestyles and begin looking
24 seriously for alternative energy sources. It will also
25 allow time for us to work towards a just land settlement.
26 A just settlement would free the people of the Northwest
27 Territories from excessive control in many areas of their
28 life. Education is one such area of excessive external
29 control which urgently requires change to be carried
30 out under the control of the native people.

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For example, a truly educational curriculum would link programs closely to the training and culture of the child. The successful implementation of such programs requires teachers who have a knowledge of the background heritage of their students. This continues to be a difficult goal to achieve in the Northwest Territories where on the average from 1969 - 74, employment of Inuit, Indian and Metis teachers only represented about one percent of the total teaching force. With so few native teachers, it is not surprising that students find the school environment alien and difficult and irrelevant and drop out of school early. The educational statistics of 1974 showed that 94% of status Indians across Canada dropped out before finishing high school compared to 12% of white students.

It was also found that less than 40% of native students finished grade eight. These national statistics on status Indians across Canada are probably representative of native students in the Northwest Territories and indicate that the curriculum and the methods of selecting and training teachers continue to be unsuccessful in providing such students with an appropriate education.

The native people of the Northwest Territories want more control of how their children are educated and what this education leads to. The recent revision of the School Ordinance was a perfect opportunity for the Government of the Northwest Territories to fully involve the people of the north. However, before it was first re-written, there was little

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1 if any communication with native people in their
2 own languages. Indian, Metis and Inuit Associations
3 in their reports on the Ordinance have shown that
4 vital areas such as administration, languages of instruc-
5 tion and cultural beliefs are still not included in a
6 way which reflects the needs of the native people.
7 White dominated Territorial and Federal Governments are
8 not in a position to successfully solve native
9 educational problems. Therefore, the native people
10 of the Northwest Territory must be given legal control
11 over their own educational system.

12 As well as native control over
13 their own education, there is a need for reform
14 within the educational systems of Canada which would
15 reflect more awareness and understanding of native
16 people, their past and their present. Curriculum
17 should be reviewed and rewritten in consultation with
18 native people to ensure proper study of Canada's first
19 peoples to eliminate the propagation of stereotype
20 images and to prevent the development of negative
21 attitudes towards native peoples. School boards should
22 also conduct teachers' workshops on native peoples.
23 If we southerners had a deeper understanding of the
24 injustices suffered by native people within Canadian
25 society, the probability of achieving a just solution
26 for the people of the Mackenzie Valley and a just
27 solution for all native peoples would be greater.

28 In conclusion, we support the
29 native position that the land claims should be settled
30 prior to the development of a gas pipeline in the

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1 Mackenzie Valley and that there should be a moratorium
2 on major development projects in the north for ten to
3 15 years in order to allow for further study. We
4 support this position because we feel that it is in
5 the best interests of the people in the south and of
6 the future development of Canada. We know that the
7 native people have ably presented their position them-
8 selves. What we are trying to say is that from our
9 point of view, we strongly support the native position
10 because we feel in the long run that it will be in
11 the best interests of all Canadians.

12 Thank you.

13 (SUBMISSION OF YWCA CROSS-CULTURAL SOCIETY -
14 D. SEABORN & S. VAN DEN HEUVEL - MARKED EXHIBIT
15 C-557)

16 (WITNESS ASIDE)

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
18 very much sir.

19 MR. WADDELL: Mr. Commissioner,
20 I'd like to file two briefs. The first is from
21 Britannia United Church here in Ottawa and signed by
22 a number of people.

23 (SUBMISSION OF BRITANNIA UNITED CHURCH STUDY GROUP
24 MARKED EXHIBIT C-558)

25 MR. WADDELL: The second one
26 is from St. Paul University here in Ottawa.

27 There is one more brief left
28 for today, but I don't think we'll have time to do
29 it this afternoon. We'll have to do it first thing
30 tomorrow morning. That's the brief on solar energy; the

W. P. Wilder

1 Solar Energy Society.

2 I believe Mr. Roland has a --

3 MR. ROLAND: Yes sir. As
4 I've already indicated, our procedure permits each
5 of the two pipeline companies as well as the major
6 participants to respond to submissions heard this
7 afternoon for a period not exceeding ten minutes.

8 Mr. Pierre Genest, counsel
9 for Arctic Gas has indicated to me that Mr. William
10 Wilder, Chairman of the Board of Canadian Arctic Gas
11 Pipeline Limited wishes to exercise that right this
12 afternoon. As well, Mr. Hollingworth, counsel for
13 Foothills Pipe Lines Limited has indicated that Mr.
14 Ron Rutherford, executive vice-president of that
15 company also wishes to exercise that right this after
16 noon.

17 Finally, Dr. Doug Pimlott,
18 advisor to the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee
19 as well wishes to speak for a period not exceeding
20 ten minutes this afternoon.

21 I'd call upon Mr. William
22 Wilder to begin.

23 WILLIAM P. WILDER, resumed;

24 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
25 thank you sir for this opportunity to appear before you.
26 I would like to address some of the issues which have
27 been raised today and throughout your hearings, issues
28 of importance to all Canadians.

29 First, land claims and the
30 native people of the north. Vern Horte, our president,

W. P. Wilder

1 advised you of our view on this important matter in
2 Toronto and I want to emphasize them again.

3 Arctic Gas has repeatedly and
4 publicly urged an equitable and just settlement of
5 native land claims at the earliest possible date.
6 This must be settled in our opinion, whether a pipeline
7 is built or whether a pipeline is not built.

8 The Indians and the Metis of
9 the Northwest Territories plan to complete their
10 proposal and submit it to the Federal Government this
11 year. With all parties acting in good faith, it should
12 be possible to reach a settlement promptly before
13 construction of the pipeline.

14 Finally, I would like to
15 refer here today to remarks made by Arctic Gas represen-
16 tatives to this Inquiry in Vancouver, Toronto, Edmonton
17 and here this morning for a further appreciation
18 of our views concerning the native peoples and their land
19 claims.

20 Energy options and moratoriums
21 have also been discussed considerably, and I would like
22 to comment on these issues.

23 One failing we all have is that
24 sometimes we don't like to face facts. Rather, we
25 prefer to look for some other course of action... to
26 find some excuse for not dealing with a given situation.
27 We do this in our personal lives, and I think we're doing
28 it with this pipeline.

29 Let us look at these energy
30 options.

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1 First, conservation must be
2 practiced. We can reduce the rate of growth in our
3 energy consumption but we cannot reduce our total
4 consumption. The fact is that our population is
5 growing. The fact is that our labor force is growing.
6 The fact is that the number of people wanting their
7 own homes is growing. This growth is not based on
8 excessive lifestyles. It's based on population statis-
9 tics. I can only conclude that conservation is necessary,
10 but it's not an alternative to the development of
11 additional domestic energy nor to our pipeline pro-
12 posal.

13 Second, I have been very
14 impressed by the popularity of renewable energy as
15 shown in your hearings Mr. Commissioner. Solar, wind
16 and tidal power, etc., will be harnessed some day and
17 I believe that Canada can benefit from further research.
18 The fact remains however, that these forms of energy
19 are not at this point financially attractive nor are they
20 feasible for widespread application. Their use will
21 increase gradually but again, they are no alternative
22 at this time to conventional energy, nor to a pipeline.

23 Third, some say that other
24 conventional energy should be developed rather than
25 developing northern gas supplies. Consumption of
26 electricity - hydro and nuclear - now ranks third
27 behind oil and gas. There is little, if any, prospect
28 of surplus electricity becoming available for oil and
29 gas users. In Ontario for example, Ontario Hydro has
30 advised the Provincial Government that after allowing for

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conservation, there may still be shortages of electricity in 1980, amounting to about five percent of the then current capacity. This is before a pipeline could be completed from the Mackenzie Delta. If any substitution takes place, it may be delta gas substituting for electricity, not vice versa.

Fourth, you have been told by some that Canada should curtail existing authorized gas exports, yet the National Energy Boards has shown in its 1975 report that this would buy very little extra time for gas users. It is not a ten year alternative and regardless of timing, it is not an action to be taken lightly.

Fifth, this Inquiry was told in Calgary by Mr. Blair that he

"..know(s) that there are sufficient reserves of gas in southern Canada to meet the growing requirements of the Canadian market for some years". We wish there were, but we were impressed by the substantial body of informed opinion in Alberta which disagreed with this "option".

Among those who disagreed are the following:

- The Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists and Geophysicists.
- The Distribution Company -- Canadian Utilities Limited -- which has the responsibility of providing gas to users within Alberta.
- The City of Calgary.
- And the City of Edmonton which concluded:

W. P. Wilder

1 "The City has voiced its concern a number of times
2 regarding future gas supply both locally and in
3 the province."

4 It went on to note that the Mackenzie Delta gas will
5 flow to Canadian markets other than Alberta.

6 "It will have the effect of reducing demand for
7 Alberta gas, thus protecting local future gas-
8 supply."

9 The Canadian need for
10 Mackenzie Delta gas by the early 1980's has been
11 repeated from Vancouver to Quebec...

12 * By distribution companies which have obligations
13 to their existing customers,

14 * By civic organizations which have obligations to
15 the social and economic well-being of their constituents

16 * And by civic leaders with even stronger obligations
17 flowing from the democratic process.

18 From the foregoing, there
19 should be little doubt as to our views on proposals
20 for delaying the transportation of Mackenzie Delta gas.
21 I would like to make two points.

22 1. Surely those who recommend a moratorium are not
23 suggesting that unemployment and welfare in the north
24 should be maintained for ten years. Surely they are not
25 suggesting that the hundreds of northern citizens now
26 employed directly and indirectly in the industry be
27 put on a ten-year unemployment program. I know they
28 don't intend this, but these are the two obvious con-
29 sequences.

30 2. My second point relates to conditions in Canada's

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1 populated areas. Few people appreciate that more than
2 half of the natural gas consumed in Canada is consumed
3 by industry. You heard today from the Industrial
4 Gas Users' Association of the 35,000 people its 14
5 member companies employ in their gas-using operations.
6 These employees were paid more than half a billion
7 dollars in 1975. It should be remembered that the
8 Industrial Gas Users' Association members account for
9 only 15% of industrial gas consumption in Canada.
10 Similarly, the Industrial Gas Users' Association is the
11 tip of Canada's gas-dependent employment pyramid.

12 Jobs are also provided by
13 the commercial sector. Industrial and commercial
14 consumption together equal more than 75% of all the
15 natural gas used in Canada today. Although more than two
16 million Canadian homes are serviced by this fuel,
17 they account for only some 25% of gas consumption.

18 Canadians have been urged
19 to moderate their lifestyles so as to use less
20 natural gas. Such savings would relate primarily
21 to residential consumption, since much is already being
22 done to conserve gas in the industrial sector. Further
23 industrial gas savings would necessitate a reduction in
24 employment. I do not know how you can ask people to
25 moderate their right to be employed.

26 Arctic Gas has said that the
27 single most important benefit of the pipeline is in the
28 use of the energy it would transport, and some 75% of
29 the natural gas used today involves the employment of
30 Canadians. If this employment is undermined by

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1 inadequate gas supplies, Canada's economic base is
2 eroded to the detriment of all Canadians, regardless
3 of where we live or what we believe.

4 I would like to add one
5 more observation. From my experience, I do not think
6 that Canada is capable of paying \$20 billion to
7 foreign countries for their oil supplies over the
8 next ten years, certainly not without considerable
9 suffering. Yet this is what we will have to face if
10 Canada's energy requirements are to be met without
11 access to northern energy by the 1980's.

12 In conclusion sir, our
13 national well-being requires that decisions to trans-
14 port Mackenzie Delta gas be made promptly.

15 Having said that, it is
16 imperative that northern concerns be met and resolved.
17 Arctic Gas believes that the pipeline does not prejudice
18 the future of native peoples and their claims.

19 We consider that some of the
20 most important evidence heard in the southern hearings
21 was that given in Montreal by the native and government
22 leaders most closely involved in the negotiations
23 leading to the James Bay Agreement. This testimony
24 raises a very fundamental question with respect to
25 the relationship between development and native land
26 claims. The question is, could there be a settlement
27 if there were no pipeline proposal?

28 Thank you for this opportunity
29 and we continue to wish your Inquiry well Mr. Commission-
30 er.

R. M. Rutherford

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. ROLAND: Sir I would
 next call upon Mr. Ron Rutherford, executive vice-
 president of Foothills Pipe Lines Limited. Mr.
 Rutherford?

RONALD M. RUTHERFORD, resumed;

THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
 although we have yet to hear from several more groups
 and individuals in cities to the east, several topics
 have dominated the presentations we have heard thus
 far at the southern hearings, and it is apparent that
 our country and the applicants are divided into groups
 with different views.

One element wants the pipeline
 constructed immediately for two reasons. The first
 reason is that the United States is presently short
 of gas and getting shorter day by day, and must obtain
 deliveries of its Alaska gas across Canada to help
 alleviate that shortage.

The second reason put forward
 by this element is that Canada is facing an imminent
 immediate shortage of gas, and must connect the
 Mackenzie Delta reserves immediately to prevent that
 shortage.

Another group appearing before
 you is adamant that no pipeline should be constructed
 until the native land claims are settled.

A third group does not want
 a pipeline constructed at all, or at least wants a
 ten-year moratorium because they fear irreparable

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environmental and socio-economic damage.

You, Mr. Commissioner, must weigh these diverse desires of different Canadians and advise a course of action to the Canadian Government which will be wise and just. In the light of these diverse views and the decision you must make, we wish to put forward our company's position, because we feel it can satisfy the desires of almost all those groups who have appeared before you.

We believe Canada should connect its delta frontier reserves by pipeline to southern Canada to satisfy the energy needs of those millions of Canadians living in southern Canada, but we do not think it need be or should be built before great strides have been made to settle the native land claims issue.

Our studies show that reserves in Alberta are capable of satisfying the natural gas requirements of the Canadian markets for several years to come and I am sure it comes right before you that when I started this by saying there were different groups with different views, you've just heard two of us right now.

To do this however will require the cooperation of Alberta to allow excess production from that province for an interim period. It will also require the cooperation of Alberta Gas Trunk Line and TransCanada Pipelines to install the required transmission pipeline facilities to transport this gas to market. This expanded pipeline capacity will

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1 not be wasted because it will be needed later to
2 transport frontier gas.

3 The cooperation of two out
4 of three of these parties, the Alberta Government and
5 the Alberta Gas Trunk Line have already been assured.
6 We believe the additional supply of gas from Alberta
7 will provide Canada the time it needs to prepare for
8 the connection of its frontier reserves in the manner
9 best for all Canadians.

10 On the other hand, we urge
11 the government and the native groups to proceed diligent-
12 ly with their negotiations towards a settlement. It
13 should be done quickly because the breathing spell we
14 offer will not last many years. Alberta cannot continue
15 alone to supply Canada forever with its natural gas
16 requirements.

17 With regard to the environment,
18 we do not believe our pipeline will do irreparable
19 damage to the environment. Industry and government
20 have spent huge sums of money to carry out extensive
21 studies and research towards minimizing the environmental
22 impact of a pipeline. You also have been painstaking
23 in your analysis of this subject in your hearings and
24 we expect you will be able to recommend conditions to
25 our government which will protect the environment and
26 still leave it economically possible for us to proceed.

27 Further in this regard, our
28 pipeline avoids the most environmentally sensitive
29 areas of the north because our project does not envisage
30 connecting Prudhoe Bay Alaskan Gas by means of a pipeline

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1 across the North Slope of the Yukon and Alaska with
2 its Arctic wildlife range and across the Mackenzie
3 Delta.

4 With regard to the pressures
5 to build the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline immediately
6 so that the United States can gain access to its Alaskan
7 gas, we offer a solution to this also. The alternative
8 Fairbanks - Alcan highway corridor route which we
9 have recently proposed allows the U.S. to gain access
10 to its Alaskan gas by a route devoid of many of the
11 problems still to be resolved regarding the Mackenzie
12 Valley route.

13 In summary, we believe our
14 Maple Leaf Project to connect the Mackenzie Delta
15 reserves for Canadian use, coupled with our Alcan
16 Highway Project to connect the Alaskan gas for United
17 States' use, is in the best interest of most Canadians,
18 and incidentally, also in the best interests of the
19 United States.

20 1. It will give the U.S.A. access to its Alaska gas
21 at the earliest time and in a manner acceptable to most
22 Canadians.

23 2. It provides Canada the time to negotiate and make
24 progress towards settling the ^{native} land claims issue and the
25 time to take such steps as are necessary to minimize the
26 impact of the pipeline on the native peoples and the
27 environment. In other words, it provides Canada with
28 the flexibility and the time to properly evaluate the
29 impact of the pipeline on the peoples of the north
30 and decide what is in the

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1 best interests of all of the people of Canada, including
2 northerners, southerners, producers and consumers.

3 3. It can also deliver Mackenzie Delta gas to
4 Canadian markets at a cost at least equal to and
5 probably less than the other international project
6 being proposed, and at a much lower capital cost.

7 Thank you Mr. Commissioner
8 for the opportunity of appearing before you.

9 (WITNESS ASIDE)

10 MR. ROLAND: Finally sir,
11 to conclude the afternoon, I'd call upon Dr. Doug
12 Pimlott, advisor to the Canadian Arctic Resources
13 Committee.

14 DOUGLAS PIMLOTT, resumed;

15 THE WITNESS: Mr. Commissioner,
16 this reaction will relate to a single aspect of the
17 evidence which has been presented to your Inquiry today.
18 I refer to the tendency which exists among conservation
19 and environmental organizations to be cynical about the
20 likelihood that the Federal Government will take
21 seriously recommendations which are made by your Inquiry
22 to protect the environment if and when a pipeline is
23 built across the Yukon and up the Mackenzie River Valley.

24 The basic element of this
25 cynicism was expressed this morning in a brief presented
26 by the Canadian Nature Federation when it was stated that
27 the government has not maintained any balance between
28 the needs of native people in the north, the protection
29 of the environment and the preservation and the develop-
30 ment of energy and non-renewable resources.

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Dr. Mosquin stated in fact:

"Only the exploitation of natural resources, especially oil and natural gas has received priority treatment from government."

As you stated this afternoon, cynicism about whether the government will respect the recommendations of your Inquiry has cropped up time and time again in the course of the southern hearings. On many occasions, you have responded positively as you did today and reminded participants and those attending the hearings of the fact that the action of the government in establishing your Inquiry and in funding native and environmental organizations so that they could appear as intervenors before you on a full-time basis.

May I say Mr. Commissioner, that the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee is deeply appreciative of the action that the government took in establishing your Inquiry and in funding the Northern Assessment Group and the native groups. We worked hard to help to get your Inquiry established and to have it include the adversary funding principle which you recommended.

We deeply regret the fact that a credibility gap still exists about the Federal Government's intention to bring balance between the needs and concerns of native people, protection of the environment and resource development.

In my comments this morning, I referred to the D.O.E. - DINA relationship in the north

D. Pimlott

1 and the inferior role that DINA plays is an important
2 cause of the cynicism syndrome which is so wide-spread
3 among conservationists and their organizations. The
4 government could do much to alleviate it if it gave
5 the role of environmental protection to D.O.E., as
6 the Speech from the Throne in 1970 recognized as a
7 desirable and important thing.

8 We have wondered if you are
9 aware of the extent to which fear for the future of
10 public participation in resource development decisions
11 in Canada generally, and in the north in particular
12 gives rise to the cynicism you have encountered. We
13 fail to get a similar inquiry process for offshore
14 drilling either in the Beaufort Sea or anywhere in the
15 Arctic, although we see the potential for the offshore
16 drilling in the Beaufort Sea to have even greater
17 environmental effect than a gas pipeline.

18 In addition, the government
19 gives no positive indication that a similar process
20 will be developed for other major development projects
21 which are in the offing. A prime example is a pro-
22 posal to build a polar pipeline to bring gas from the
23 Arctic Islands. A statement of intent from the
24 Cabinet on this matter would make a very positive
25 contribution to the alleviation of this cynicism
26 syndrome.

27 Perhaps as a final note I
28 would like to say that we feel a deep need in the
29 conservation movement for the establishment of environ-
30 mental impact and related public processes under laws of

D. Pimlott

1 our country. While deeply respecting you and your
2 Inquiry, it is an ad hoc process which may never
3 be repeated again. If the government would enact
4 legislation of even modest elements of the
5 National Environmental Policy Act of the United
6 States, it would make a tremendous contribution to
7 the alleviation of the conservation cynicism syndrome.

8 In closing, I would like to
9 say that I spent two weeks in April working with the
10 Inuit people of the Baffin region. Like the people of
11 the western Arctic, they have deep and abiding fears
12 about the potential consequences of offshore drilling
13 to the marine mammals and the birds which are so
14 important to them. Plans for offshore drilling are
15 moving forward very rapidly and it seems likely that
16 the first well will be drilled in Canadian water in
17 1977. As far as the Inuit people can learn, the
18 government has no plans for an environment research
19 program in the eastern Arctic which is comparable to the
20 Beaufort Sea Project.

21 Conservationists might naturally
22 ask the question, "if not, why not?" We recognize
23 the eastern Arctic as having every bit the importance
24 of the western Arctic in terms of the whole marine
25 ecosystems of the Arctic. We feel that the government
26 would make a tremendous contribution again to the
27 alleviation of the syndrome if they would show us through
28 concrete action, that the research projects which was
29 established under the Beaufort Sea Project was not just
30 something to satisfy immediate public pressure but that

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1 there is an abiding principle there that our government
2 will respect and will protect the marine and the
3 terrestrial environments of the Arctic.

4 Thank you very much sir.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
6 Dr. Pimlott.

7 (WITNESS ASIDE)

8 MR. ROLAND: Sir, that
9 concludes this session. I would like to add that we
10 will be holding three sessions tomorrow, commencing
11 at 10 A.M. and these sessions shall be held in the
12 Sussex Room which is located in this building.

13 Finally, a movie prepared
14 on behalf of the Inquiry will be shown tomorrow in
15 the Sussex Room at one P.M.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
17 we're adjourned to 10 A.M.

18 (SUBMISSION BY REV. S. SOMERVILLE MARKED
19 EXHIBIT C-559)

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21 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JUNE 4, 1976)
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AUTHOR

Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry:

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